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# PARTIES REGROUP AFTER ELECTIONS; COMMENT ON VOTING

LDP Strength Reaches 259

OW210857 Tokyo KYODO in English 0851 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Tokyo Dec 21 KYODO -- The Liberal-Democratic Party boosted its lower house strength to 259 seats, three more the [asreceived] simple majority of 256, after recruiting another conservative independent Wednesday.

Eitaro Itoyama, 41, elected from Saitama Prefecture, told newsmen he was returning to the ruling party from which he bolted once.

The governing party said it gave party membership to Itoyama retroactive to last Saturday, the day before election day.

The conservative party got 250 seats in Sunday's general election of the 511-seat House of Representatives. On Monday, eight conservative independents joined the party, increasing the LDP's strength to 258. The Japan Socialist Party, Komeito, Democratic Socialist Party and Japan Communist Party have also each recruited an independent. Following is the new party-wise strength at two-chamber Diet:

House of Representatives	Party	House of Councillors
(lower house)		(upper house)
259	LDP	136
113	JSP	43
59	Komeito	27
39	DSP	13
27	JCP	14
8	NLC	
3	USDP	
	Sangiin-No-Kai	7
	Shinsei Club	4
3	Independents	4
0	Vacancies	4
511	total	252

(Note: LDP abbreviated from Liberal-Democratic Party, JSP from Japan Socialist Party, DSP from Democratic Socialist Party, JCP from Japan Communist Party, NLC from New Liberal Club, USDP from United Social Democratic Party. Sangiin-No-Kai is minorities' group. Shinsei Club is coalition of NLC and USDP at upper house.)

Nakasone Urges Party Unity

OW210613 Tokyo KYODO in English 0558 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Excerpts] Tokyo Dec 21 KYODO -- Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone Wednesday apologized for his party's serious setback in Sunday's general election and called for party unity to tide over political difficulties ahead.

Meeting government and Liberal-Democratic Party leaders, Nakasone said he will confer with party seniors Thursday in an effort to solicit their support in forming a new party executive and government lineup. "No political vacuum is allowed and I'd like you to cooperate with me," he said.

At Sunday's polls, the first general election for the year-old Nakasone administration, the LDP lost 36 seats to drop to 250 in the 511-member House of Representatives, but has recruited nine successful conservative independents to maintain a bare majority of 259.

His main critics within the party have stepped up their pressure seeking his responsibility for the election debacle, which was much more serious than expected. After the election results were known, former Prime Ministers Takeo Miki and Takeo Fukuda, Nakasone's two major intraparty opponents, said Nakasone should take responsibility for the setback — an oblique demand for his resignation. Former Cabinet Minister Toshio Komoto, against whom Nakasone competed in the LDP presidential election in November last year, also joined the two former prime ministers in voicing criticism. Nakasone said Wednesday he will meet the two main critics Thursday as well as other party elders, including former Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, his predecessor.

According to LDP sources, three major LDP factions led by Nakasone, Tanaka and Suzuki have decided to rally behind the prime minister despite the election defeat. Government and LDP leaders in charge of Diet steering Wednesday met and confirmed their plan to convene a special Diet session next Monday to select a new house speaker and pick a new prime minister. LDP sources said Nakasone wants to complete formation of a new LDP executive and government lineup by the end of this month -- possibly on December 30.

# Nakasone To Meet Predecessors

OW201259 Tokyo KYODO in English 1252 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] Tokyo Dec 20 KYODO -- Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone will meet his four predecessors, possibly on Thursday, in a bid to establish party unity in the wake of the serious setback in Sunday's general election.

Nakasone instructed party executives Tuesday to arrange individual meetings with the four top advisers of the Liberal-Democratic Party. Meetings between the prime minister and Nobusuke Kishi, Takeo Miki, Takeo Fukuda and Zenko Suzuki are expected to be held Thursday.

Despite rising criticism against Nakasone from anti-Nakasone factions in the party, Nakasone is intent on forming a new Cabinet after winning nomination as prime minister in a special Diet (parliament) session slated to be convened on December 26. Nakasone called Suzuki and Fukuda to seek their cooperation to patch intraparty disputes over the party's setback in the election and in inaugurating a new Cabinet. Suzuki expressed his faction's continued support for the Nakasone administration. Fukuda answered only that he is ready to meet Nakasone anytime on the request. But the Fukuda (?faction) intends to call for elimination of the dominance of the party's largest faction controlled by former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, Nakasone's principal supporter, recently convicted for bribery in the Lockheed payoff trial.

Nakasone intends to soothe antagonism within the anti-Nakasone factions after cementing unity among the leadership, through closer contacts with the Tanaka and Suzuki factions. As for the appointments of new party executive officers and Cabinet ministers, Nakasone is also planning to reduce the Tanaka faction's dominance as much as possible, allot one of the three top party posts to the Fukuda faction and appoint the party secretary general without reference to factional considerations.

Meanwhile, Toshio Komoto, leader of an anti-Nakasone faction, Tuesday reiterated his demand that Nakasone clearly reveal how he will express responsibility -- including possible resignation -- for the party's setback in the election. A full-scale intraparty power struggle is possible over nomination of the prime minister and the appointments of the party officers and Cabinet ministers. At present, however, it seems likely Nakasone will be named as prime minister at the special Diet session, failing a party split up.

# Party Heads Comment on Voting

OW201201 [Editorial Report] Tokyo NHK Television Network in Japanese at 0410 GMT on 19 December carries a 50-minute special program presenting live interviews with various party heads and LDP factional leaders on the outcome of the House of Representatives election.

After interviewing LDP President Nakasone first, announcer Korehito Obama directs his questions to the heads of opposition parties -- JSP, Komeito, Democratic Socialist Party [DSP], JCP, New Liberal Club [NLC] and United Social Democratic Party [USDP].

JSP Chairman Masashi Ishibashi, expressing joy over the 112 seats his party won in the election, says, "although we said that our goal was to secure 120 seats, we actually thought it would be very good if we could get 110. Therefore, the number of seats we won is generally a satisfactory figure to us." Analyzing the causes of the election outcome, Ishibashi says, "I think that the people passed severe judgment on the LDP's plutocratic rule," adding that the unity of his party's leadership, the success in election cooperation between the JSP and Komeito, and solidarity in the opposition camp in general are also attributable to the outcome.

Ishibashi says that the opposition's "victory in the election" resulted from its solidarity and therefore his party will set store by the solidarity, vowing that the JSP will strive to further strengthen the solidarity by playing a midwife's role in consolidating the opposition camp.

Asked if the JSP will put up a unified opposition candidate for the election of the prime minister to be held at the forthcoming Diet session, he says: "I think that we should do so and want to do so, but I think it will not be an easy matter because it pertains to the issue of each party's independence and peculiarities. I hope to consider it after seeing the development of the overall situation."

Komeito Chairman Takeiri, commenting on his party's victory, says, "We are deeply impressed with our unexpectedly great victory and feel grateful to the people." Analyzing the cause for the victory, he says that Komeito's policy and political stance helped to win the people's support.

Asked to which Komeito attaches more importance -- relations with the JSP or with the middle-of-the-road parties -- Takeiri says, "Since the DSP has been attaching importance to its ties with the middle-of-the-road parties during the past decade, I think that we will continue to give priority to our dialogue with the middle-of-the-road parties." He adds that he hopes the JSP will be "modest" in playing its role as the No 1 opposition party. Asked if Komeito will cooperate with Ishibashi's plan to put up a united opposition candidate in the election of prime minister, Takeiri says that it is still too early to think about that.

DSP chairman Ryosaku Sasaki is the next to comment on the election outcome. He says that the 38 seats the DSP won, including one independent supported by the DSP, is a "satisfactory result," although they fell short of hitting their goal of 40 seats.

Analyzing the causes of the election outcome, Sasaki says: "It is regrettable indeed, but it should be proper to say that the LDP's government was too bad, rather than to say that we did well." He then cites the LDP's "money is everything" posture as a big factor for its maladministration, and vows that the DSP will continue its "free and unbiased policy" in dealing with either the government or opposition parties, including the JSP. Commenting on Ishibashi's plan for an opposition candidate in the election of prime minister, Sasaki says that it is not a matter that should be talked about at this stage.

JCP Chairman Tetsuzo Fuwa expresses "regret" at his party's loss of three seats in the election, including that of Secretariat Chief Mitsuhiro Kaneko, but says that its actual loss is only two because one who was elected in Nagoya will joint his party soon.

Fuwa stresses that the JCP's struggle against a plutocracy, Nakasone Cabinet's arms expansion line, and service to big business firms helped stir the people's criticism of the government, but adds that this did not result in bringing ballots for his party. Commenting on the causes of the election outcome, Fuwa complains that there were no policy debates among parties, nor joint campaign speech meetings.

NLC representative Seiichi Tagawa says that the NLC's decrease in the number of its seats from 10 to 8 is "regrettable," and adds: "The LDP's crushing defeat is an expression of the people's call for the LDP to reflect on itself rather than a support for us."

Asked if the NLC would return to the LDP, as advised by the LDP, Tagawa says, "We should never forget why we founded our party. On that basis we must deal with the future political situation, and since we have been cooperating with the middle-of-the-road parties, we will consult with them in trying to tide over this difficult political situation." As for the Ishibashi opposition candidate plan, he says it is not a matter to discuss at this stage.

USDP representative Hideo Den says defeat of Yanosuke Narazaki, an incumbent member of the USDP, is "regrettable" and says the election outcome shows that "the people's severe indignation at the political ethics issue has exploded." He adds that the Nakasone Cabinet and the LDP must deeply reflect upon themselves. Asked if the USDP would attach importance to its ties with the middle-of-the-road parties, he replies, "Of course, we hope to treasure our ties with them."

Announcer Obama then asks LDP's factional leaders to comment on the electon outcome and what their factions will do to deal with the new political situation.

Tanaka faction's spokesman Esaki says that the outcome of the election was "very severe," and notes that although the voter turnout was very low, the LDP's polling rate was more than 50 percent, or a majority of the people. Esaki points out that reasons for the LDP defeat were an excessive number of candidates, a lack of vigilance on the part of the LDP candidates, and inattention. As for the 250 seats the LDP won, he says, "this is regrettable, indeed." Asked if the Tanaka faction would continue backing Nakasone's mainstream faction, he says: "Of course, he will. The people have never forsaken our LDP. They are rather pinning their hopes on the LDP. However, I think it is important that we achieve unity in the party, accepting this situation solemnly."

Speaking for the Fukuda faction, Fujio says: "Above all, the Tanaka issue remained unresolved. Since the people went to the polls entertaining suspicions about it, the unsettled Tanaka issue was taken as a sign that the LDP as a whole was bad. That was one of the main reasons why the voter turnout was the lowest in history." He adds that the LDP's failure to win a simple majority is "a very severe outcome."

Asked if the Fukuda faction would call Prime Minister Nakasone and the LDP's leadership to account for their responsibility, Fujio says: "Before speaking about whether we will call them to account for their responsibility or not, they should make clear what they will do with the still unresolved Tanaka issue. Otherwise, it will be difficult to achieve the LDP's unity. On that basis, the party needs to join efforts in reforming itself next."

The Suzuki faction's spokesman, Tazawa, comments on the decrease in the number of the faction's seats and says: "We warned time and again that we should be careful in dealing with the Tanaka issue, and that we should not hastily dissolve the Diet." He says that the LDP's failure to secure a simple majority is "a situation which we should accept with concern." Asked if the Suzuki faction would blame Prime Minister Nakasone and the LDP leadership for the poor showing, Tazawa says, "we should not repeat a situation like the 40-day rivalry [between Ohira and Fukuda] during the Ohira days. Since Prime Minister Nakasone says that he accepts the election outcome solemnly and will strive for the party's unity, we will watch how he achieves unity in concrete terms."

Sakurauchi speaks for the mainstream Nakasone faction and says that the election return is "very severe." He admits that politicians political stance was questioned in the election, adding: "I think that we must reflect upon ourselves and act accordingly." Sakurauchi stresses that Prime Minister Nakasone and the LDP leadership should humbly listen to other factions in trying to smoothly run the party.

The Komoto faction's Kaifu, analyzing the causes of the LDP defeat, says angrily: "Political ethics and reform were the primary issues in the election. Therefore, I think we should take the outcome as reflecting the people's severe criticism of the LDP's political stance and its way of dealing with the political ethics issue." Kaifu says that the 250 seats the LDP got is "a miserable defeat" and stresses, "bearing this fact fully in mind, the party should carry out a drastic reform." He adds: "We will watch how the prime minister faces this situation and deals with it. We hope he will spell a posture convincing to the people." Asked if the Komoto faction foresees a repeat of the 40-day Ohira-Fukuda rivalry, Kaifu says: "Before speaking about that, the prime minister himself should first show how he will achieve an all-party unity and what political reform he will carry out."

The interviews with the party heads and LDP factional leaders end at 0453 GMT, followed by a discussion of the future political situation by political reporters Shimizu and Nakajima. The program ends at 0500 GMT.

Consensus on SDF Sought

OW210625 Tokyo KYODO in English 0604 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Tokyo Dec 21 KYODO -- Japan Socialist Party Chairman Masashi Ishibashi said Wednesday he will seek an intraparty consensus to recognize the legal existence of the Self-Defense Forces [SDF] although they are unconstitutional.

Ishibashi made the move from the viewpoint that although the SDF are unconstitutional, their existence cannot be ignored.

The move is apparently aimed at minimizing differences in views on the SDF with the No 2 opposition Komeito, which made great strides in last Sunday's general election, to promote a coalition government scheme.

Ishibashi contends the DSF violate the war-renouncing Constitution and their abolition should be the ultimate goal. But, at the same time, they have a legal existence created in a legally due process by a majority vote in the Diet. He also asserts that the SDF should be reformed and diminished in a legal manner in line with the Constitution.

Ishibashi's move is expected to provoke critical reaction from left-winger: in his party as leading to a further rightward tilt in the party. However, the JSP chairman said he was confident of forming a party consensus on the "unconstitutional but legal" theory about the SDF.

In the recent election campaigns, the No I opposition party said the SDF would not be immediately abolished when an opposition coalition government was formed. This was apparently based on the theory. Ishibashi said he would now promote the idea as the JSP did well in the general election.

# Coalition Spurs Caution

OW201229 Tokyo KYODO in English 1223 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] Tokyo Dec 20 KYODO -- Leaders of opposition parties said here Tuesday they are cautious about promoting a coalition among themselves to take advantage of the major setback suffered by the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party in Sunday's House of Representatives election.

Meeting the press, the leaders said that there are still differences to be ironed out and that overly hasty moves toward a coalition would be counterproductive. The press conference was given one day after the vote counting by the secretary generals of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party and the oppostion Japan Socialist Party, Komeito, Democratic Socialist Party, Japan Communist Party, New Liberal Club and United Social Democratic Party. The LDP won only 250 of the 511 seats in the lower house against the 286 it held before dissolution of the house last month. The ruling party succeeded in constructing a simple majority, however, by offering membership to eight new lawmakers.

Makoto Tanabe, secretary general of the JSP, said at the press conference that the close balance of power between the ruling and opposition parties in the lower house "must be dealt with correctly." Pursuit of a hasty arrangement will only be counter productive, he said.

Junya Yano, Komeito secretary general, said that cooperation among the opposition parties to "corner" the LDP is quite different from forming a coalition government themselves. The coaliton must be based on steady achievements in reformative efforts and avoid causing unnecessary political turmoil, Yano said.

Toshio Yamaguchi, secretary general of the New Liberal Club, a splinter group of the LDP, indicated, however, that his group is ready to cooperate with the ruling party in carrying out various policies and the steering of the Diet (parliament). The NLC has only eight seats in the lower house, but Yamaguchi said that the power of its votes, generated by the close ruling-opposition balance, will be fully utilized.

Susumu Nikaido, LDP secretary general, said that those things that should be changed in the general policy of the government under Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone will be changed.

He said the ruling party is ready to hold talks with the opposition parties on the handling of such issues as ways to stimulate the economy and reducing taxes.

## GOVERNMENT EYES 4 PERCENT GROWTH RATE FOR 1984

OW201527 Tokyo KYODO in English 1246 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] Tokyo Dec 20 KYODO -- The government is seen certain to aim at an inflation-adjusted economic growth rate of just above 4 percent in fiscal 1984 beginning next April, a rate much higher than the 3.4 percent projected for the current fiscal year.

This prospect emerged Tuesday after the Economic Planning Agency [EPA] announced a much higher than expected growth rate for the July-September quarter -- 1.5 percent compared with the previous quarter or 6.2 percent at an annual rate in real terms. Economists at the EPA are negotiating with the Ministry of International Trade and Industry and the Finance Ministry to work out an official economic outlook for the new fiscal year. The outlook, which will lay the ground for next year's budget, is expected to be announced early next month.

After Japan's gross national product (GNP) grew an inflation-adjusted 5.3 percent in fiscal 1979, the annual expansion rates have remained slow -- 4.6 percent in fiscal 1980, 3.5 percent in fiscal 1981 and an estimated 3.4 percent in fiscal 1983. Private analysts said that the government of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is inclined to set next year's growth target higher following his party's humiliating setback in Sunday's general elections.

A senior EPA official indicated that the government's target growth rate will probably be set around 4.2 percent. He noted that in addition to growing exports stirred by the recovery in the U.S. economy, there are now signs of pickup in domestic demand, particularly corporate investment and personal consumption. But the official said the EPA will try to avoid making the same mistake as in fiscal 1982, when the annual tax revenue estimates, based on the original official growth target of 5.2 percent, had to be revised downward by 17 percent as actual growth proved to be much lower.

Besides, he said, the Finance Ministry is reluctant to adopt higher growth rate, which might lead to an assumption of tax revenue increases and calls for bigger government spending.

#### SUMITOMO TAKES OVER U.S. FIRM MINUS DEFENSE PLANT

OW161233 Tokyo KYODO in English 1208 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Osaka Dec 16 KYODO -- Sumitomo Metal Industries Friday signed an agreement to take over a leading American piping steel couplings maker after severing its military-related division under pressure from the U.S. Defense Department.

A company spokesman said Japan's third largest steelmaker signed a contract with Allegheny International Inc. of the United States for the takeover of its subsidiary, Tube Turns Inc. in Louisville, Kentucky, the second largest American maker of welded couplings for piping steel.

Allegheny approached Sumitomo with a proposal to sell the subsidiary, which was reeling because of its unprofitable metal-making division. Sumitomo initially wanted to take over the whole of Tube Turns.

But Sumitomo later decided to take over the non-military divisions of Tube Turns only, as the U.S. National Security Act prohibits the takeover of American corporations producing military equipment by foreign firms. The U.S. maker manufactures piping steel couplings for naval ships.

Sumitomo officials said the U.S. Defense Department then proposed a formula under which Sumitomo would give up its managerial rights over Tube Turns after absorption and appoint U.S. personnel to trusteeship over the firm.

But Sumitomo felt the formula would be unprofitable and decided to cut the military-related factories of Tube Turns from its absorption plan.

The cost of absorbing the remainder of Tube Turns is estimated at less than 5 billion yen (21.7 million dollars), the officials said. They said Sumitomo Metal Industries will take a 49 percent equity in the U.S. firm, with the remainder put up by Sumitomo Corp. (31. 5 percent), Sumitomo America Corp. (17.5 percent) and Sumitomo Bark (2 percent).

# CORRECTION TO NAKASONE TV INTERVIEW

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Nakasone Interviewed" published in the 20 December Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT, Page C 6, paragraph 3, line 2 and 3

... supposed to sound rinrin, suggesting a play on words. (Correcting typo "rinrin" instead of "rinri")

# NODONG SINMUN SCORNS REAGAN'S REMARKS ON MORALITY

SK210222 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 0755 GMT 20 Dec 83

[NODONG SINMUN 20 December commentary: "Morality of Aggressors"]

[Text] Reagan, the U.S. imperialist chieftain of war who is creating tensions and recklessly wielding a big stick everywhere in the world, is playing tricks with works to legalize his act of aggression. At a recent meeting of the winners of the U.S. supreme military order held in New York, Reagan blared that the day is gone when the United States was vulnerable militarily and that the world would see the United States strong in morality as well as in the military and economic sectors. This revealed the foolish U.S. intention to intimidate the people of the world and dominate the world with strength by possessing a strong military potential.

The morality mentioned by Reagan is alien to genuine morality, based on valuing justice and truth and defending the dignity of humanity. It is a crafty ruse to justify the armed intervention and terrorism committed by the U.S. imperialists in different areas of the world with the veil of morality. This is an insult to the morality of human society.

Reagan, who became President with the slogan of the reconstruction of a powerful United States, frantically ran amok with arms expansion and aggressive war preparations to realize the ambition to dominate the world through force.

The U.S. imperialists, running amok to maintain and expand their sphere of influence, included the broad areas of the earth in the area vital to U.S. interests. They regard exercising their armed forces to enforce their intention onto the people of these areas as their natural right and U.S. morality.

In his speech, Reagan did not conceal that the building of a strong United States is aimed at oppressing others by force of arms as in the case of Grenada. The situation of Grenada showed that the U.S. imperialists would create disorder in any area of the world when necessary and regard perpetrating armed intervention on the pretext of protecting Americans as a national policy. This is the very norm of action of the United States, strong in morality and Reagan's view of morality. According to Reagan's view of morality, all areas of the world where the U.S. people are present can be a stage of military intervention and a target of (?aggression.)

Now U.S. warplanes and warships are showering bombs and shells on the heads of the Arab people to protect the U.S. Marines who act as an interventionist army in Lebanon. By overthrowing any regime which resists the U.S. domination and striking military blows at the countries incurring the displeasure of the United States, the Reagan clique is attempting to demonstrate the might of the United States strong in morality and to threaten the people of the world. It is unhesitatingly trying to drive human beings even to a nuclear calamity to realize its ambition for world domination.

Reagan's morality is similar to the law of the jungle, combining the big stick policy with gunboat diplomacy to which the U.S. imperialists have resorted down through history. Reagan is closely following the road of the Hitler clique which ran amok to reduce human being to fascist slaves. The preposterous plan of Reagan to dominate the world will result in further deepening the political and economic crisis of the United States staggering under the weight of stupendous military spending and precipitate the isolation and decline of U.S. imperialism.

### SOUTH KOREAN DEFENSE BUDGET BILL DENOUNCED

SK201025 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1004 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] Pyongyang December 20 (KCNA) -- NODONG SINMUN Monday carried an article titled "South Korean Economy Turned Into Military Appendage to U.S. Imperialists." The author of the article says:

Today the South Korean economy has completedly turned into a military appendage for the aggressive purpose of the U.S. imperialists. This is fully proved first of all by the military expenditure in the budget of the South Korean puppet government.

The U.S. imperialists have controlled the South Korean budget and subordinated it to their military aim through the "counterpart fund" in the main till the 1960's and since then, through "treaties" and "agreements" concluded with the puppet clique and various machines. Therefore, the bulk of the budget of the puppet government is disbursed as direct or indirect military expenses. The [word indistinct] military expenses allotted under the name of "defence expenses" in South Korea surpassed by far 30 percent of the budget in recent years.

This year's "defence expenses" amount to 3,400,000 million won, or 32.8 percent of the budget. This is many times the amount [words indistinct]. A greater portion of the fund disbursed under the name of "general administrative expenses," "economic development," "social development" and so forth is also used as indirect military expenses. The annual direct and indirect military expenses surpass 70 percent of the budget of the puppet government. In the "draft budget" for next year recently submitted to the puppet National Assembly the Chon Tu-hwan clique increased the military expenses alone by 30,000 million won above this year, while reezing the budgetary scales of all other items.

Today the South Korean economy is playing the role of meeting on the spot part of the military demand which is growing as the U.S. imperialists [word indistinct] their policies of aggression and war. To comply with the demand of the U.S. imperialists' policies of aggression and war, the aggression forces and puppet army are being reinforced, their military equipment modernized and military setups expanded in different parts of South Korea.

Seeking local supply of most of the huge material need for this, the U.S. imperialists are stepping up militarisation of the South Korean economy to meet it. Strengthening their control and subjugation of the South Korean economy through "aid" and other means, they have zealously reared comprador capital, bled the workers white through them and induced huge foreign capital under the pretext of "modernisation," thus expediting the militarisation of economy.

The U.S. imperialists are also requisitioning for their military purposes large portions of land, buildings and other immovables and products in South Korea. While stepping up the production of necessary war materials in South Korea, they are putting spirs on building railways, roads, communication lines, ports and other military estab ishments. This results in sharply expanding the indirect domains of society including railways, roads, communications and ports in South Korea.

The portion of socially indirect capital in the South Korean economy grew nearly four percent in recent four or five years to reach 17.8 percent in 1980. In extensively expanding such indirect domains hastening the building of railways, roads, ports and communication establishments in South Korea, the U.S. imperialists intend to make South Korea fully play its role as a forward base and direct military act on zone for war of aggression. All facts prove that the South Korean economy has been turned into a supplier for the military base of the U.S. imperialists.

# NODONG SINMUN EXAMINES INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY

SK190430 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0347 GMT 19 Dec 83

[Text] Pyongyang December 19 (KCNA) -- NODONG SINMUN on December 17 carried an article titled "Independent and Peace-Loving Foreign Policy of Our Republic." Noting that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regards it as its invariable principle to actively struggle to firmly maintain chajusong (independence) in its foreign policy, develop friendly and cooperative relations with various countries of the world and guarantee peace and security in the world, the author of the article says:

The principles of our republic in its foreign policy are based on the immortal chuche idea founded by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and all its external activities are an embodiment of the chuche idea.

The Government of the DPRK firmly maintains, above all, the principle of chajusong in its external activity. It independently shapes all its foreign policies in conformity with the specific conditions of our country and interests of our people, conducts external activity according to its judge and view and forges and develops friendly and cooperative relations with other countries on the principle of complete equality and mutual benefit, mutual respect and non-interference in others' internal affairs.

Our foreign policy is an independent one not allowing any outside interference. In actively conducting independent external activity our republic also regards it as another consistent principle to struggle for global peace and security. Our republic strengthens friendship, unity, cooperation and exchange with socialist countries, non-aligned countries and all other new-emerging countries and establishes and develops good relations with capitalist countries which are friendly to our country. This also proceeds from the peace-loving stand of our people's government.

The peace-loving stand of our republic is proved more clearly in its practical activity. It strongly demands dissolution of the imperialist military blocs, dismantlement of aggressive military bases in other countries and withdrawal of imperialist forces of aggression which are permanent factors threatening global peace and security. It also raised the just problem of creating nuclear-free, peace zones in different parts of the world and constantly expand them and actively supports the struggle of the people for the creation of these zones in Asia including the Korea peninsula, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Europe. It refrains from supporting or opposing either of parties concerned in disputes between new-emerging countries; it regards it as a principle to help both parties concerned solve the disputes peacefully in their interests, proceeding from an unbiased stand on all accounts.

The Government of the DPRK is making all efforts possible to strengthen and develop the unity of the socialist forces and international communist movement, the greatest revolutionary forces of our era facing the imperialist reactionary forces and a decisive factor propelling the revolutionary struggle of the world people.

As a member nation of the Non-aligned Movement our republic actively strives to strengthen and develop the movement. Today the international position of our country has risen as never before and the international solidarity with our revolution strengthened. This is attributable to the high authority of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and is a brilliant result of the independent and peace-leving foreign policy of our party advanced by him.

# SOVIET UNION PAPER CITED ON U.S. PACIFIC 'HEGEMONY'

SK181010 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0912 GMT 18 Dec 83

[Text] Moscow December 16 (KCNA) -- The Soviet paper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA December 15 published an article titled "Triangle' in the Making" exposing the intention of the United States to establish U.S. hegemony in the Far East and the Pacific. The paper said:

Weinberger, boss of the U.S. Defence Department, revealed once again the U.S. ambitions to establish hegemony in the Far East and the Pacific. In his speech in the capital's Press Club he said the USA intends to remain the leading Pacific Ocean power and thinks its friends and allies should contribute to ensuring U.S. interests. In saying "friends and allies" he had in mind Japan and South Korea, U.S. partners in the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul axis persistently projected by the Reagan administration.

Some time ago Reagan flew into Japan and South Korea and urged them to take an active part in the preparations for U.S. aggression in the Asian-Pacific region. The aim of the preparations for aggression is to achieve the military-strategic predominance of the tripartite military alliance under the aegis of the United States in the Asian-Pacific region and establish a bridgehead for the military adventure in this region in the future.

The U.S. Defence Department attaches great importance to South Korea and regards it as a forward base in the U.S. war preparations against the Far Eastern countries, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in particular. As is clear in his utterances, the main task of the Chon Tu-hwan puppet regime at present is to keep confrontation in the Korean peninsula.

# USTINOV SPEECH ON U.S. MISSILE DEPLOYMENT CITED

SK171536 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1500 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Moscow December 16 (KCNA) -- Dmitriy Ustinov, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and defence minister of the USSR, spoke at a meeting which was held on December 14 between the senior officials of the USSR Defense Ministry and veterans of the Soviet Army, according to a TASS report.

Referring to the present-day international situation, he said that Washington is seeking by all means to upset the rough strategic military parity existing between the United States and the USSR, between the states of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty and to gain military superiority over the USSR and the states of the Warsaw Treaty.

Noting that the deployment of new American medium-range missiles, which has begun in Europe, is extremely dangerous to the cause of peace, he stressed the significance of the measures adopted by the Soviet leadership in reply to the deployment of the new American missiles in Europe. The USSR, he declared, shall continue doing everything to remove the threat of war and preserve peace.

# ARREST OF 'SPIES' IN SOUTH KOREA DEEMED FABRICATION

SK210555 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2253 GMT 20 Dec 83

[NODONG SINMUN 21 December commentary: "Mass Drama Fabricated fo: Anticommunist Confrontation"]

[Text] On 19 December, the puppet Agency for National Security Planning in South Korea, which assumes anticommunist intrigue as daily business, again announced that it had arrested 12 people involved in 3 different espionage operations. According to the puppets' announcement, they had supported campus disturbance and commotion by violence, bringing the dismissed students and officers of the puppet army around to their side at someone's directives, and collected information on vigilance and training status of the puppet army and police and on the moves of the puppet military.

The puppet clique tried to explain the incident with a view to convincing the people. However, the incident of fixed espionage rings which they put forth this time is, as in the past, also a slanderous drama produced in the office of the notorious Agency for Security Planning to pursue impure political aims. All this is alien to us.

It is an old trick of the puppet clique to fabricate so-called incidents whenever it is driven to a corner and to take advantage of these incidents to mislead public opinion and escaping the crisis. However, it is unprecedented that it fabricated so many cases en masse as often as in recent days, creating a public commotion. This shows that its situation became further difficult and that it is seeking a way out by more viciously waging the antirepublic rackets.

Since fabricating the Rangoon bombing incident, the Chon Tu-hwan clique is frantically carrying out antirepublic rackets while attempting to shift the responsibility for the incident onto us. However, those who are rejected and isolated are none other than the Chon Tu-hwan clique itself. Thus, the puppets are running amok to lead public opinion at home and abroad to anticommunism and damage the external authority of our republic. The fact that the puppet clique is waging a racket again over the incident of mass espionage only some 10 days after it had fabricated the infiltration of armed agents into Tadaepo, Pusan, is an extention of such maneuvers.

The preposterous incident racket is designed to pretend that the political crisis and social unrest which have deepened in South Korea are created by outside factors and to intensify suppression of the people.

Announcing the incident of the three spy rings, the puppets raved that the agents pushed ahead with the formation of the Democratic Peace Party by bringing not only (?public officials) but also their schoolmates, politicians from the same town and officers of the puppet army, around to their side and attempting to infiltrate the inside of the puppets' ruling circles and to overthrow the government in a step-by-step manner by means of strength. The puppets added that this is the characteristic nature of this incident. This is a trick to justify the filthy antirepublic rackets perpetrated to shift even the responsibility for the bombing incident of the U.S. Cultural Center in Taegu onto us, describing the anti-U.S. and antifascist struggle, which is intensified every day among the South Korean people and students, as one manipulated by the North. In other words, fabrication of such an incident is necessary for the puppets in shifting the responsibility of political disorder and social unrest in South Korea which results from the vicious military terrorist rule, onto us and to further strengthen the repression of the people on the pretext of such an incident.

Treacherous acts are always followed by intrigue and fabrication. The puppets, who unhesitatingly perpetrated unprecedentedly large-scale drama of massacre overseas, would commit any crime to survive. However, such an act can never serve as a shield to conceal the puppet clique's treachery or as means for maintaining its life.

The Chon Tu-hwan clique is aging a frantic racket to deceive someone by talking about infiltration by the North and so forth. However, this will only reveal more clearly its filthy nature as one who is unable to maintain the life even a day without a trick of intrigue and fraud and will expedite its own downfall. The puppet clique should abandon the idea of instigating the North-South confrontation by fabricating the nonexistent incident and of using the incident to maintain power.

# SOUTH'S CIVILIAN DEFENSE TRAINING EXERCISE NOTED

SK190524 Pyongyang KCNA in English 2205 GMT 18 Dec 83

[Text] Pyongyang December 19 (KCNA) -- The Chon Tu-hwan military hooligans staged again in December 16 a provocative war exercise called "civilian defence training" throughout South Korea, according to "radio No. 1" in Seoul.

The military fascist clique kicked up quite a row that day, sounding an "air-raid alarm" and forcibly driving out "civilian defence corps" men and "government officials", inhabitants of urban areas and farming and fishing villages to "guard of working places," sheltering and fire-fighting exercises, etc. That day, too, the puppets blew the anti-communist, anti-DPRK trumpet, frantically inciting confrontation and war fever.

This clearly shows that the Chon Tu-hwan clique of traitors finding itself deeper in a predicament, isolated and rejected within and without, is running wild as ever, increasing the tensions and intensifying the new war provocation manoeuvres at the instigation of the U.S. imperialists, the master.

# LDP'S DEFEAT IN JAPANESE ELECTIONS RIDICULED

SK210453 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0416 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Pyongyang December 21 (KCNA) -- The results of the general elections to the House of Representatives in Japan on December 18 are marked by a crushing defeat suffered by the L1beral Democratic Party, declares NODONG SINMUN Wednesday. The signed commentary titled "Adjudication of Bankruptcy to 'Politics of Strength'" says:

The Liberal Democratic Party and the monopoly capital which control finance and administration and mass media left no stone unturned in appeasing and deceiving the people and threatening and blackmailing them and scattered bundles of banknotes to rake up votes.

But the Liberal Democratic Party failed to attain even its lowest goal and fell far short of the majority. This means its miserable defeat. The election returns indicate that the overwhelming majority of the people never allow the socio-political life to be flouted by "plutocracy" and "power politics" of the fascists and the country to be led along a dangerous road of war.

The elections signify a great victory of the Japanese democratic forces including the Socialist and Komei Parties and the people who had struggled against the country's militarisation and fascistisation and for peace and democracy, independence and neutrality.

The miserable defeat of the Liberal Democratic Party is an inevitable outcome of the anti-popular policy of the Nakasone government oriented to the conversion of Japan into "a military power" and war preparations in shameful subservience to the United States.

The ultra-rightist reactionaries of the Liberal Democratic Party headed by Nakasone rolled up their sleeves to hasten the buildup of aggression armed forces and remilitarisation to realise their old dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" and knock into shape a U.S.-Japan-South Korea three-way military alliance for aggression on Korea and other Asian countries. Complying with the demand of the U.S. imperialist bellicose elements, Nakasone offered Japan as "an unsinkable aircraft carrier," that is, a war appendage to the U.S. imperialists and a dangerous nuclear war base.

It was to please the United States that the Nakasone government sharply increased military appropriations, ingnoring the chaotic financial crisis. It is well known a fact that it was the only government in the world which supported the U.S. imperialists' invasion of Grenada.

Not without reason Nakasone is denounced and ridiculed by the Japanese people as "the hawk of the hawks" and "an adjutant to Reagan."

The policy of his government which placed the demand of the United States above the interests of the Japanese people largely impaired the national dignity of the Japanese people. What the Nakasone government brought to the Japanese people during the one year of its office was the danger of war, threat to peace, uneasiness and sufferings in living. It is entirely natural for the people to be estranged from such government.

The results of the elections are an adjudication of bankruptcy to Nakasone's "politics of strength" for suppressing the popular masses with the backing of the United States and "power of money." The Nakasone government faces rejection by the opposition forces within the Liberal Democratic Party for the defeat in the elections. Its days are numbered.

The Japanese people demand independence, peace, democracy, and friendship, not subservience to the United States and war. Whoever may be seated in power in Japan, he cannot evade bankruptcy when he goes against the desire of the people and the demand of the time.

MINJU CHOSON in its signed commentary says: The election returns in Japan show that those who race along the road of "militarization" and war, pursuing a U.S.-toeing policy, cannot evade the opposition and rejection of the people.

# WPK CONGRATULATES JSP ON ELECTION RESULTS

SK210458 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0427 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Pyongyang December 21 (KCNA) -- The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea on December 20 sent a message of greetings to the Central Executive Committee of the Japan Socialist Party [JSP] on the large increase of the seats of the party in the lower house elections. The message reads:

Our party Central Committee is rejoiced at the attainment of many more seats by your party in the recent lower house elections and extends warm congratulations to the Central Executive Committee and entire members of the Japan Socialist Party. This success of your party is a clear demonstration of the correctness of its line and policy for peace and democracy, demilitarization and neutrality, anti-nuclear weapons and disarmament and for the vital interests of the working people and a victory of the Japanese people's struggle for social progress.

Convinced that the excellent friendly relations existing between our two parties will constantly strengthen and develop, we take this opportunity of wishing you greater success in the future work.

## RAID ON JAPANESE CHONGNYON OFFICE REPORTED

SK140409 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0401 GMT 14 Dec 83

[Text] Tokyo December 12 (KNS-KCNA) -- Right-wing hooligans of Japan on December 11 committed a grave provocation by raiding the Tsurumi, Kanagawa Prefecture, branch office of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongnyon).

In the afternoon that day, they struck the outer door of the office with their car several times. They were caught in their attempt to run away. In this raid of the ignorant hooligans, the outer door, the notice board and the automatic selling machine of the office were seriously damaged.

In this connection Kang Tae-yong, chairman of the Kanagawa Prefectural Headquarters of Chongnyon, issued a talk. Noting that the raid of right-wing hooligans of Japan on the Tsurumi Branch office of Chongnyon took place against the background of the anti-DPRK, anti-Chongnyon campaign of the reactionaries at home and abroad which has become more vicious after the Rangoon bomb blast, he sharply denounced it with bitter national resentment.

Recalling that assaults on Korean school students, threatening demonstrations against the Chongnyon organization and intimidating phone calls at the Korean school by Japanese right-wing hooligans had been committed in an unbroken chains in Kanagawa Prefecture after the Rangoon explosion, he stressed: Facts show that the raid was part of the premeditated criminal acts of the reactionaries at home and abroad to destroy the Chongnyon organization and suppress Korean residents in Japan.

Denouncing the irresponsible attitude of the Japanese authorities who remain a passive onlooker to the repeated provocative acts of the right-wing reactionaries in Kanagawa Prefecture, he strongly demanded the authorities to arrest and severely punish the criminals and take relevant measures to prevent the recurrence of such incident.

#### FINNISH PAPER CITED ON 1988 OLYMPICS IN SEOUL

SK110843 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0837 GMT 11 Dec 83

[Text] Pyongyang December 11 (KCNA) -- The Finnish paper UUSI SUOMI November 29 said that the International Olympic Committee already feels uneasy about the scheduled Seoul Olympiad. Noting that the unetable situation of South Korea casts a shadow on the international Olympiad, the paper said:

The International Olympic Committee has already admitted the need to designate a substitute for Seoul in the Olympiad and Finland is the object of discussion.

Seoul is a very dangerous place. Therefore, a meticulous calculation must be made in discussing the host. The International Olympic Committee considers that if Finland agrees, it can be the host of the 1988 Olympiad instead of South Korea.

# WOMEN'S UNION CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS 16-17 DEC

SK181054 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0850 GMT 18 Dec 83

[Text] Pyongyang December 18 (KCNA) -- The second plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Korean Democratic Women's Union [KDWU] was held in Pyongyang over December 16-17. The plenary meeting discussed the problems of thoroughly implementing the teachings given by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song on January 30, 1982, and tasks set forth in the congratulatory message of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea to the Fifth Congress of the KDWU.

General Secretary of the KDWU Central Committee Kang Chom-suk made a report and many attendants spoke at the meeting.

The reporter and speakers stressed that the teachings of the great leader given on January 30, 1982, and the congratulatory message of the WPK Central Committee to the Fifth Congress of the KDWU clarified the orientation and ways to improve the work of the Women's Union in conformity with the demand of the developing reality where the modelling of the whole saciety on the chuche idea was put to the fore.

The reporter and speakers said today the Women's Union is faced with the task to rouse the Women's Union members to the struggle for modelling the whole society on the chuche idea, upholding the militant task put forward by the great leader at the historic Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea.

# YUN KI-CHONG SPEAKS ON LOCAL ECONOMIC POLICY

SKO80443 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0334 GMT 8 Dec 83

[Text] Pyongyang December 8 (KCNA) -- A national conference of functionaries of local power and economic organs was held over December 6-7 at the People's Palace of Culture to more thoroughly implement the policy of the local budgetary system put forward by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song. A portrait of the great leader of our party and our people Comrade Kim Il-song was placed on the platform of the conference.

The conference summed up the implementation of the policy of the local budgetary system advanced by the great leader Comrade Kim II-song and discussed future tasks.

Minister of Finance Yun Ki-chong made a report to be followed by many speeches. The reporter and speakers noted that over the past ten years since the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song advanced the unique policy of the local budgetary system and enforced the system in all local areas, it greatly contributed to developing the local economy and culture, strengthening the financial foundation of the country and accelerating socialist construction as a whole for its superiority and great vitality.

By propounding a unique idea and theory on the local budgetary system, the great leader further developed and enriched the treasure-house of the chuche-oriented theory of socialist finance and recorded a new chapter on the historic course of financial building of our country, they stressed.

As a result of the successful implementation of the policy of the local budgetary system, local budgetary income increased 2.4 times in 1982 as against 1973, taking the country as a whole, they noted, and said: This proud success is a brilliant victory of the great leader's unique idea and theory on the socialist budgetary system and local economic life and a precious fruition of the wise guidance of the glorious party centre which made the whole country seethe in a great revolutionary upsurge and energetically guided all local areas to develop at a fast rate.

# ANTI-IMPERIALIST, CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS STRESSED

SK150034 Pyongyang KCNA in English 2246 GMT 14 Dec 83

[Text] Pyongyang December 14 (KCNA) -- NODONG SINMUN December 14 carries a signed article titled "High Degree of Anti-Imperialist, Class Consciousness To Be Possessed of by Our Party Members and Working People," which says:

To firmly arm the party members and working people with a high degree of antiimperialist, class consciousness is an important work the working-class party should always firmly grasp. The cause of socialism and communism is advanced and completed in the course of the fierce struggle against imperialism and class enemies.

Today imperialism and class enemies are stepping up their aggressive manoeuvres by more cunning methods as they find themselves in a more difficult situation. It is all the more important and urgent for our people to firmly equip themselves with a high degree of anti-imperialist, class consciousness.

Our country is still an important forward base in the struggle against imperialism. We are in direct confrontation with the U.S. imperialists, the chieftain of aggression and war, and are carrying on revolution, exposed to their ceaseless aggression and new war provocation moves. Our people have not yet accomplished the cause of anti-imperialist national-liberation revolution on a nationwide scale. This requires constant strengthening of the work for heightening the anti-imperialist, class consciousness of the people, not making slight of it even a moment.

At present the main force of the revolution in our revolutionary ranks are the new generation who have not experienced exploitation and oppression and are not clearly aware of the heinous nature of imperialism, and class enemies. Only when they are firmly armed with class consciousness, can they clearly realize the aggressive nature of the U.S. imperialists, the Japanese militarists and the Chon Tu-hwan puppet clique and staunchly fight against them and stoutly carry forward the triditions of the revolution.

The content of anti-imperialist, class consciousness to be possessed of by our party members and working people is the spirit of having an infinite hatred for the U.S. imperialists, Japanese militarists and the Chon Tu-hwan puppet clique and waging an uncompromising fight against them. The U.S. imperialists, Japanese militarists and the South Korean puppet clique are invariably a target of our struggle and inveterate enemies who are threatening and trying to rob us of our genuine fatherland and people's happy life. To arm the party members and working people with a high degree of anti-imperialist, class consciousness is a powerful way of firmly establishing a revolutionary world outlook of chuche and making them boundlessly loyal to the revolution throughout their life.

The revolutionary world outlook of chuche is formed from hatred for imperialism and class enemies and is consolidated and developed in the course of heightening anti-imperialist, class consciousness.

Arming them with high anti-imperialist, class consciousness also makes it possible to firmly defend and advance our revolutionary cause from the enemy's aggressive moves. Anti-imperialist, class consciousness enables the party members and working people to clearly realize the aggressive, cunning and heinous nature of the U.S. imperialists, Japanese militarists and the Chon Tu-hwan puppet clique, have the stand that they should fight them out and thus display an indomitable fighting spirit and matchless spirit of self-sacrifice in the anti-imperialist, class struggle.

# NODONG SINMUM URGES CONTINUATION OF THREE REVOLUTIONS

SK180449 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2238 GMT 17 Dec 83

[NODONG SINMUM 18 December Special Article: "The Firm Principles Maintained by Our Party in Carrying on the Three Revolutions"]

[Text] To correctly define the principles to be maintained in carrying on the three revolutions is one of the basic problems that arise in socialist and communist construction. In his treatise "Let Us Advance under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism and the Chuche Idea," Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau, and secretary of the party Central Committee, set forth the ideology and theory on the three revolutions and clarified the principles maintained by our party in carrying on the three revolutions.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee, has noted: In carrying on the three revolutions, our party maintains the principles that firmly place the ideological revolution at the head and vigorously push ahead with the technological and cultural revolutions at the same time.

Socialist and communist construction is the struggle to transform man, society, and nature and to do away with all class differences, thereby securing the popular masses' complete social equality and happy material and cultural lives. After the establishment of a socialist system, this struggle is carried on through the three revolutions — ideological, technological, and cultural revolutions.

As the great leader has taught the three revolutions -- ideological, technological, and cultural revolutions -- are the basic contents of revolution to be carried out in socialist society, and the task of continuous revolution to be carried on till the construction of communism.

Even after the victory of socialist revolution and the establishment of a socialist system, old social relics remain in the ideological, technological, and cultural spheres, and this results in class differences, differences in working conditions, and various other differences in the socialist society. Because of this, socialist society is distinct from the higher stage of communism, assuming a transitional nature.

To overcome the transitional nature of a socialist society and to construct communism, three revolutions should be vigorously carried on to liquidate the old social relics remaining in the ideological, technological, and cultural spheres. We should carry on the three revolutions thoroughly to successfully achieve remaking of man, society, and nature to transform all members of society into communist-type human being to fully realize essential demands of communist society by doing away with all differences in class, working conditions, and in the standard of material and cultural life.

To successfully carry on socialist and communist construction after the victory of socialist revolution and the establishment of a socialist system, depends entirely on whether or not to carry on the three revolutions along the strategic line.

The great leader Comrade Kim II-song has defined the principles in carrying on the three revolutions as firmly placing the ideological revolution at the head and pushing ahead with the technological and cultural revolutions at the same time based on the scientific analysis of the positions of and the relations among the ideological, technological, and cultural revolutions in the legitimate requirements of socialist and communist construction and their realization, and has taught us to put them into practice from the first day of carrying on the three revolutions.

Our party has firmly maintained the principles of carrying on the three revolutions and has enabled us to successfully push ahead with the three revolutions. This constitutes a great contribution to victoriously completing socialist and communist construction without bias or deviation.

Our party's principles of firmly placing the ideological revolution at the head and pushing ahead with the technological and cultural resolutions at the same time are a just policy which enables us to realize socialist and communist construction at the fastest speed possible.

As a rule, the principles of carrying on a revolution should be defined in such a way they would make it possible to realize the general objectives of the revolution successfully, actively, and at the fastest speed. For this, the principles of carrying on revolution should be decided on by correctly identifying the most important matter and then by concentrating on it and controlling it. This is an important matter in establishing the strategy and tactics in revolution. Therefore, the principles of carrying on the three revolutions — ideological, technological, and cultural revolutions — should be so defined as to enable us to successfully occupy the ideological and material fortresses which form the general objectives of communist construction.

In carrying on the three revolutions, first of all, a firm priority should be given to the ideological revolution over the technological and cultural revolutions. This is connected with the importance of the work which remodels and arouses people's ideological consciousness in **social**ist and communist construction.

Giving a firm priority to the ideological revolution is an indispensable demand in remodeling people's ideological consciousness and fostering them as genuine communist men. As indicated by the great chuche idea, man is the master of all things and decides everything. Thus, there is no more important work than the work of making people genuine communist revolutionaries in building socialism and communism. No matter how abundant the material wealth of the society may be and how high the living standard may be, without remodeling people as communist men, no one cay say that he has built a communist society.

In essence, remodeling of man is an ideological remodeling. The basic question in remodeling people in a communist fashion is to have been possess communist ideological consciousness. The ideological consciousness determines the value and character of man. To foster people as communist men with ideological and spiritual traits which are suitable to the communist society, all kinds of old-fashioned ideas should be rooted out from their minds. This is resolved through the ideological revolution which revolutionizes and working-classizes people. Only when a firm priority is given to the ideological revolution, can all members of the society be fostered as genuine communist men.

Giving a firm priority to the ideological revolution serves as a firm guarantee to successfully carry out the economic and cultural construction by heightening the revolutionary zeal of the working people.

People's high revolutionary zeal is a fundamental source which pushes ahead with the socialist and communist construction. People's revolutionary zeal is highly displayed when their ideological consciousness is remodeled in a revolutionary fashion.

Ideological consciousness is a decisive factor which controls people's role in revolution and construction. Ideological consciousness also determines how people display their (?strong) will and struggle capability in the revolutionary struggle. The more the socialist and communist construction progresses and the higher the level of people's ideological consciousness increases, the greater the role of ideological consciousness becomes.

of course, the material and cultural factors, too, greatly function in socialist and communist construction. But, man handles machines and technologies, and creates and develops culture, too. No matter how excellent one's machines, facilities, technologies, and cultural foundation may be, if the ideological preparations and zeal of people, who handle them, are insufficient, the economic and cultural construction cannot be carried on excellently, either. Therefore, a firm priority should be given to the ideological revolution — the political work aimed at increasing the working people's revolutionary zeal and creativity — over the technological and cultural revolutions. In this way can the working people's political consciousness and zeal be highly aroused and can the rapid development in economic and cultural construction be achieved.

In carrying on the three revolutions, a firm priority should be given to the ideological revolution and, at the same time, the technological and cultural revolutions should be pushed ahead simultaneously. Carrying on technological and cultural revolutions is an indispensable demand to occupy the ideological and material fortresses of communism.

When the technological and cultural revolutions are vigorously pushed ahead all together, the working people can be liberated from arduous labor; the material and technological foundation suitable to the socialist and communist society can be firmly laid; and people can be fostered as communist men who are generally developed.

If importance is attached only to the ideological revolution and no need is given to either technological or cultural revolutions, both the ideological and material fortresses of communism cannot be occupied.

Like this, ideological, technological, and cultural revolutions are independent revolutionary tasks, but they are carried on in the unified process in close interrelation with one another. Thus, in carrying on the three revolutions — ideological, technological, and cultural — a firm priority should be given to the ideological revolution, and the technological and cultural revolutions should be vigorously pushed ahead simultaneously.

Our party's principles of carrying on the three revolutions are scientific and just ones which can most quickly and positively realize the general objectives of communist construction. The justness and might of our party's principles of firmly placing the ideological revolution at the head and pushing ahead with the technological and cultural revolutions simultaneously have been fully corroborated through the practice of our revolution.

The whole process during which, with the successful performance of the three revolutions in our country, the socialist and communist construction has triumphantly made progress has been a proud path along which our party's principles of carrying on the three revolutions have been thoroughly embodied and the miracles and changes of the century have been created in revolution and construction.

Through the struggle of embodying the principles of carrying on the three revolutions, a basic change has taken place in the ideological and spiritual traits and life style of our people. The whole society has been fully modeled on the chuche idea. With a single ideological will, entire party and all people have been fully rallied and united around the party Central Committee headed by the great leader Comrade Kim Ilsong. All working people are vigorously marching forward for the socialist and communist cause with endless loyalty to the party and the leader. By marching forward, firmly adhering to the party's principles of carrying on the three revolutions, our people have turned our country into a socialist industrial nation and a rich independent and sovereign state in a historically short time.

By setting ablaze the flames of the great upswing of Chollima, embodying the party's principles of carrying on the three revolutions, our people also have achieved industrialization in just 14 years, industrialization which others would have achieved in several hundreds of years. Today, with the spirit of the speed battle joined to the Chollima, they are making an all-our march forward toward the high peak of the complete complete victory of socialism.

Proud achievements have been made also in the work of fostering the national cadres, work which began from nothing after the liberation. Thus, we have been able to develop a large army of intellectuals numbering 1.2 million today. At the same time, the heyday of chuche literature and art has unfolded. The intellectualization of the whole society is being succensfully accelerated. This proud reality shows that the principles of carrying on the three revolutions put forth by our party are the just principles which enable us to quickly accelerate the socialist and communist construction without the slightest biased tendency or deviation. By firmly adhering to these principles of carrying on the three revolutions, we should brilliantly realize the cause of building a communist society, in which the whole society is modeled on the chuche idea.

# BRIEFS

COAL PRODUCTION BASE — Pyongyang November 26 (KCNA) — The Ilsin coal mine with a rich deposit of high caloric coal has been commissioned and a railway siding between Ilsin and Nodong in North Hamgyong Province opened to traffic. This is of great significance in meeting the rapidly growing demand for coal and promoting the traffic convenience of local people. The great leader Comrade Kim Il—song extended thanks to the workers, technicians and helpers who participated in the laying of the railway siding. A ceremony for conveying the thanks of the great leader, commissioning the Ilsin coal mine and opening to traffic the new siding was held on the spot on November 24. The new siding was held on the spot on November 24. The great leader Comrade Kim Il—song's thanks were conveyed by Comrade Cho Se—ung, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and chief secretary of the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee. [Text] [Pyongyang KCNA in English 0759 GMT 26 Nov 83 SK]

CONSUMERS GROUP TO USSR -- Pyongyang December 7 (KCNA) -- A delegation of the Central Federation of Korean Consumers' Co-operatives headed by Han Chong-kun, its chairman and minister of commerce, left Pyongyang by plane on December 7 for a visit to the Soviet Union. It was seen off at the airport by Minister of Chemical Industry Mang Tae-Ho, Vice-minister of Commerce Yi Yong-sop and Soviet Ambassador to Korea N.M. Shubnikov. [Text] [Pyongyang KCNA in English 2235 GMT 7 Dec 83 SK]

# COMOROS BREAKS OFF DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH NORTH

#### Severs All Relations

SK202325 Seoul Domestic Service in Korean 2200 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Report from Correspondent Pak Sung-pom in Paris]

[Text] The Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros, an island country in the Indian Ocean, announced yesterday that it would sever diplomatic relations with the puppet North. Through its embassy in Paris, the Republic of the Comoros made it public that it can no longer maintain diplomatic relations with the puppet North wich perpetrated the Burma assassination bombing incident. In its announcement, the Comoros Embassy in Paris stated that the Comoros would severe all relations with the puppet North, which had committed terrorism, in favor of international peace and justice.

Our country has maintained diplomatic relations with the Republic of the Comoros since 1979. The pupper North established diplomatic ties with the Comoros in 1975.

The Comoros is the third country to cut off diplomatic relations with the puppet North due to the Burma assassination bombing incident.

# Foreign Ministry Welcomes Break

SK202331 Seoul Domestic S in Korean 2200 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] The government made clear that it welcomes the Comoros' measure of breaking ciff diplomatic relations with the puppet North, stating that this clarifies once again that the international community cannot tolerate the grave international terrorism by the puppet North. The Foreign Affairs Ministry stated its stand through its statement issued today in connection with the Comoros' step of cutting off diplomatic relations with the puppet North.

In the statement, the government made plain that it expects the peace-loving countries of the world to continue to take strong and proper sanctions, transcending differences in ideologies and systems, so that the puppet North will not conduct terrorism, disturbing international peace and stability.

#### More on Ministry Statement

SK210241 Seoul YONHAP in English 0229 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Seoul, Dec 21 (YONHAP) — South Korea Wednesday welcomed the Republic of Comoros' decision to sever diplomatic relations with North Korea in protest over the Oct 9 Rangoon bombing. A Foreign Ministry statement also urged the international community to follow suit by taking appropriate and strong sanctions against North Korea.

The south African nation cut diplomatic ties with Pyongyang by mailing a diplomatic note Dec 3 to the North Korean Embassy in Madagascar, according to reports reaching the Foreign Ministry from the South Korean Embassy in France.

Noting that Comoros' is the second country other than Burma, which was directly involved in the bombing, to cut diplomatic ties with North Yorea following Costa Rica, the statement said that the South Korean Government welcomes the brave decision.

Comoros' action once again made it clear that the international community would not tolerate North Korea's grave, terrorist crime, it said. The statement said that the South Korean Government expects all the peace-loving countries of the world, transcending ideological differences, to join intaking strong and appropriate sanctions against North Korea in order to prevent it from repeating such terrorism. It added that South Korea is sure that Comoros' action would be a turning point in consolidating existing bilateral friendship and cooperation.

Comoros established diplomatic ties with North Korea in 1975 and with South Korea in 1979.

# ROK TO SEEK DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION OF PYONGYANG

SK210745 Seoul SEOUL SINMUN in Korean 21 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] With an aim to further widen the gap between the diplomatic capabilities of the North and the South, the government is planning to place main emphasis on isolating North Korea in the international community and expanding the stage of our diplomacy in 1984. A Foreign Ministry official on 20 December said that, due to the international punishment and rejection in the wake of the Rangoon bomb blast, the diplomatic radius of North Korea has been greatly reduced. He said that the government, making the best use of such international atmosphere and conditions, has decided to place main diplomatic emphasis in the new year on accelerating North Korea's isolation in the international community and drastically widening the gap between the diplomatic capabilities of the North and the South through our active open diplomacy.

The official said: In particular, the government will actively seek to establish diplomatic relations with those 10 countries of Africa, Central America, and the Middle East which presently maintain no diplomatic relations with us. At the same time, by drastically intensifying the diplomacy of inviting heads of state of foreign countries, the government will greatly beef up our diplomatic strength. In this regard, the government will study specific measures to deal with the regions and countries concerned at the meeting of our foreign mission chiefs in America and Asia and at the meeting of the chiefs of foreign mission in other regions which will be held in Seoul on 16 January and 13 February of next year respectively. After the meetings, the foreign mission chiefs concerned will be given the tasks to be implemented to that end.

Recalling that, even after the Rangoon incident, President Chon Tu-hwan, considering the growing international atmosphere in favor of the need for summit diplomacy, reaffirmed his will for seeking summit diplomacy continuously, the official said that, in particular, the government will intensify diplomatic activities in the new year to invite heads of state of Europe, Central and South America, the Middle East, and Africa.

As for Europe, the visit to South Korea on 3 May next year by Pope John Paul II has been decided upon; Belgian Prime Minister Martens is scheduled to visit Seoul in April and a visit by Spanish King Carlos I is being sought. Though they are not heads of state, French Prime Minister Mauroy and British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Howe will visit Seoul sometime during March or April and our Foreign Minister Yi Won-kyong will visit Europe. In the wake of this, contributions will be made to establishing a base for future summit diplomacy.

In the case of Africa, it is expected that, in return for President Chon's visit, Nigerian President Shagari will visit Seoul during the first half of next year, and the government is reportedly seeking to invite many other heads of state of African countries, including Mauritania and Tunisia.

# U.S. OFFICIAL ON PEACE PROSPECTS IN EAST ASIA

SK210512 Seoul YONHAP in English 0504 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Washington, Dec 20 (YONHAP) -- A senior U.S. Administration official said Tuesday that the subject of reducing tensions on the Korean peninsula is high on the agenda of U.S. discussions with the Chinese on almost every occasion and that it would be an important subject in January when Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang makes an official visit to the United States.

The official, who did not want to be identified, made the remark in a year-end briefing on U.S.-East Asia and Pacific relations.

"Although we approach the problem from very different prospectives, I do think we share a common interest in peace and stability on the Korean peninsula," he observed.

Indicating that the Rangoon assault, a North Korean attempt to assassinate South Korean President Chon Tu-hwan, cannot be forgotten in discussing the problem, the official said it is impossible to talk about the tensions without factoring in this very gloomy indicator of North Korean intentions.

"In considering the factor, this may not seem like a very promising time to pursue it," he said. "It all has to be seen against the background of this really most atrocious act by the North Korean Government."

Pointing out that the Rangoon bombing and KAL incident succeeded in alerting governments and people worldwide to the threats the Soviet Union and North Korea pose to the area, he said such violent incidents serve to remind the United States how volatile the situation in the region, and particularly on the Korean peninsula, remains. He said it underscores in a broader way to the United States the importance of working closely with its allies and friends in the area in an effort to stabilize the region and to reduce tensions.

He said in recent years, the Asia and Pacific region has become increasingly important to the United States for both economic and strategic reasons, and the need for strong, effective cooperation with allies and friends in the region has increased over the past decade as the Soviet military presence in the Far East has expanded dramatically.

Concrete evidence of the U.S. Administration's awareness of the region's growing importance is the frequent trips to the Far East this year by President Reagan's top foreign policy and defense advisers, as well as two trips by the President himself within six months -- one to Korea and Japan and the other to China planned for next spring, he added.

# TONG-A ILBO EXPECTS NO SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE IN JAPAN

SK200646 Seoul YONHAP in English 0628 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] Seoul, Dec 20 (YONHAP) -- The TONG-A ILBO, a leading vernacular daily newspaper published is Seoul, predicted no substantial change in Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party's conservative policies despite a serious setback suffered in the Dec 18 general elections.

In an editorial Tuesday, the paper said in part:

"Japan's Diet (parliament) elections ended up with the LDP's unexpected defeat. Despite the setback in terms of the number of seats, however, the total number of votes the LDP received exceeding the absolute majority reflected the Japanese people's unchanged support of the LDP's political line.

"It is certain that the LDP will suffer pain in the wake of the defeat, but it is not difficult to predict there will be no big change in the party's basic conservative line.

"Although the confrontation of factions in the ruling party shows signs of chaos in the organization of Yasuhiro Nakasone's second cabinet and the LDP convention next year to designate the party president, no substantial change is expected with the basic policy lines of the new cabinet Nakasone is supposed to form by the end of the year.

"At the very least, Nakasone's formula for an 'unsinkable aircraft carrier' and a 'strengthened U.S.-Japanese alliance' are expected to be decelerated to some extent. But in light of the recent Soviet military buildup in the Asian region, there is no doubt that Japan is not in a position to neglect its alliance with the United States even if the Socialist Party rises to power."

# JAPANESE FISHING BOAT SEIZED INSIDE 12-MILE LIMIT

SK211046 Seoul YONHAP in English 1035 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Sokcho, Korea, Dec 21 (YONHAP) -- A Japanese fishing boat was seized and towed to this eastern port Wednesday on a charge of violating South Korea's 12-mile territorial waters.

A spokesman for the Sokcho Maritime Police said the vessel, identified as the 28 Sake-Maru, 96. 16-ton, was captured while poaching on the sea off the nation's northernmost county of Kosung at 11:30 a.m. A catch of twenty-five boxes of crabs was confiscated. The ship belonging to the Oishi Fisheries Company has a crew of 12. Skipper Genji Nakada of Torishima Prefecture was booked and is now under investigation on a charge of breaking the territorial waters law, the spokesman said.

#### CHON CALLS FOR THOROUGH MILITARY TRAINING

SK201240 Seoul YONHAP in English 1217 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] Seoul, Dec 20 (YONHAP) -- Thorough training is required for South Korean military personnel to cope with the nation's difficulties with firm confidence, militarily and spiritually, President Chon Tu-hwan said Tuesday.

During a reception he gave for 108 key military commanders at his residence, Chon called upon them to give top priority to strengthening the spiritual combat capability and development of tactics as part of reinforcing military capability. The chief executive also stressed that ideological education should be strengthened for military personnel to enable them to overpower the North Korean communist regime.

The North Korean communists have recently attempted infiltration into South Korea by sea to cause social ferment, but their attempts were foiled by the successful combined operations of three South Korean Armed Services, he added. Defense Minister Yun Song-min and Army Chief of Staff Chong Ho-yong also were present.

## ROK NAVY COMMISSIONS COMBAT PATROL SHIPS 21 DEC

SK210143 Seoul YONHAP in English 0136 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Chinhae, Korea Dec 21 (YONHAP) -- The South Korean Navy Wednesday commissioned an unidentified number of patrol combat ships, which Korean shipbuilders first began to construct in 1980, during a ceremony held at a naval base here.

The ships, designed especially for Korean coastal waters, are equipped with improved radar and shooting systems in addition to a simultaneous attack capability against multiple threats from the ocean surface, air and underwater.

They are capable of countering North Korean submarines and missile-firing ships, a large number of which are reportedly in active service, a Navy officer said.

The patrol combat ships are the third type of navy vessel built domestically. A Korean-made light destroyer was commissioned for the first time in 1980 to join the South Korean naval fleet. Later, a number of high-speed combat boats also built domestically have joined the Navy.

Defense Minister Yun Song-min, Chief of Naval Operations Adm. O Kyong-hwan and other high-ranking military officers attended the commissioning ceremony.

#### OPPOSITION PARTIES SEEK TO RECRUIT INDEPENDENTS

SK210042 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 21 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The two major opposition parties are making concerted efforts to recruits several independent lawmakers into their groups to increase their parliamentary strength.

The Democratic Korea Party is reported to have had frequent contact with at least five independents including Reps. Cho Sun-hyong and Sin Sun-pom recently to enlist them as its members. Cho represents Seoul's Songbuk district and Sin is from the Yosu-Kwangyang-Yochon district in Cholla Namdo.

Sin is said to have expressed his intention to switch his membership to the number one opposition party, which has 81 seats in the 274-seat National Assembly, sources said yesterday. It was not known, however, how the four other independents had responded to the DKP bid.

A campaign to recuit independents is also being undertaken by the Korea National Party. The party is interested in recuiting five independents including Reps. Cho Hyong-pu, No Tae-kuk, Yi Su-chong, Kim Sun-kyu and Yi Tae-yop, sources said.

Some of the lawmakers have expressed a "favorable" response to the KNP campaign, the sources said.

# LAOS TRADE UNIONS OPEN FIRST CONGRESS

# PASASON Hails Opening

BK190734 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0000 GMT 14 Dec 83

[PASASON 14 December editorial: "Wholeheartedly Hail the First National Congress of the Federation of Lao Trade Unions"]

[Text] Today, the First National Congress of the Federation of Lao Trade Unions [FLTU] majestically opened in Vientiane. The Lao working class, laboring people, and people of all tribes wholeheartedly hail and salute the glorious FLTU movement. The First National FLTU Congress provides an opportunity for us to review the great victories of the Lao revolution under the clear-sighted and talented leadership of the LPRP which is the outstanding vanguard unit of the Lao working class, and to review and evaluate the contributions made by the FLTU to the national-democratic revolutionary struggle and to national defense and national construction in the past 8 years.

At the same time, the First National FLTU Congress will also outline the direction, tasks, and methods in carrying out the tasks of the FLTU aimed at implementing the resolutions adopted at the third party congress and various resolutions adopted by the LPRP Central Committee, creating an enthusiastic revolutionary atmosphere among workers and state employees on the battlefield in emulating with one another to carry out production with a sense of thrift, modifying the structure of economic management, and genuinely taking initiatives in carrying out production, goods distribution, circulation, and organizing social life.

The FLTU congress marks an important event in political life and testifies to the continual quantitative and qualitative growth of workers and state employees in the evolution of revolutionary movements under the party leadership. The entire Lao people are very proud of the tradition of heroic struggle of the Lao working class under the party leadership which has scored great historic victories for the Lao nation.

Even though it was born in a country whose agriculture still remains backward and whose industry remains extremely young, under the leadership of the LPRP and constantly educated by the FLTU, the Lao working class has adopted the common special characteristics of the international working class as its own.

For example, it has developed a sense of thorough revolution, remained unwavering in the face of numerous obstacles, never conceded an inch of land to the enemies, further held aloft the spirit of revolutionary enthusiasm, maintained a high sense of responsibility toward organization and discipline, maintained a sense of collective mastership, sacrificed its own interests for collective and class interests, and maintained a sense of mutual affection and unity as well as a sense of international solidarity with the working class thoughout the world in trying to overthrow capitalism, to liberate the classes, and to build socialism and communism.

In 1917, the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, staged under the clear-sighted and talented leadership of Lenin, the teacher of the world revolution, scored a victory, thus opening an epoch for bypassing capitalism to socialism throughout the world. Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the outstanding fighter of the international communist movement, brought the beacon of socialism to Indochina. The Indochinese Communist Party was founded in 1930 by Comrade Ho Chi Minh. The event marked a historical turning point of the revolution in the three Indochinese countries, including that of the Lao working class.

From that day onward, the struggling movement of our working class and people has rapidly and extensively developed. This movement was not spontaneously organized but occurred with a sense of awareness and organization because it was under the leadership of the LPRP. The objective of the struggle of our working class is not only for acquiring democratic freedoms and immediate economic gains but also, under the party banner, for overthrowing capitalism, driving the imperialists out of our country, liberating the country, and building socialism.

During the period of national liberation struggle against the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists, and their treacherous henchmen, under the leadership of the LPRP the Lao working class, laboring people, and people of all tribes diligently and heroically carried out their obligations to the country and made contributions to score a great victory and completely fulfill the national-democratic revolutionary struggle, subsequently founding the majestic LPDR.

Looking back over the arduous, complicated, uncompromising, fierce, and difficult revolutionary path filled with untold sacrifices over the past 30 years, the FLTU proudly understands that the LPRP has adopted a correct line for and wisely guided the Lao revolution and the Lao trade union movement, and has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the prevailing conditions in our country. The growth and development of the FLTU are the fruits of the unity of the entire working class, cadres, and state employees with the support of the people of all tribes under the leadership of the party; of the solidarity and militant alliance among the FLTU and their fraternal Vietnamese and Kampuchean counterparts, which was forged on the basis of profound patriotism and genuine proletarian internationalism; of the great, effective, and excellent support and assistance based on the lofty sense of proletarian internationalism of the Soviet trade union and those of the fraternal socialist countries and, at the same time, of the willing support of the world trade union movement and those of all countries cherishing peace, democracy, and social progress.

The Lao working class and the FLTU are now playing an even more significant role in the new period of the Lao revolution. The FLTU acts as a firm link among the party, the masses, workers, and state employees. It acts as a firm prop of socialism and in the struggle to build and defend socialist Laos. Under the present development, our Lao working class must hold aloft the sense of revolutionary vigilance and must be more determined to smash all sabotage designs of the Chinese big-nation expansion-ists-hegemonists and the U.S. imperialists — first of all their scheme to use psychological warfare tactics and to employ economic measures and the colonialist way of life to weaken our working class.

Inheriting the national tradition of heroism and further enhancing their genuine revolutionary nature, the Lao working class has always maintained internal unity and strengthened the worker-peasant alliance.

The FLTU is part of the dictatorial regime. In the situation in which the party holds administrative power, the working class is closely linked to the leadership role of the party. The FLTU is the largest mass organization of the working class, and acts as a decisive factor on the industrial production front and in building foundations, postal and communications services.

The FLTU is the one which has mobilized workers and state employees in fulfilling the economic and social targets and participating in the economic and state management, and has mobilized and organized vehemently the socialist emulation campaigns in all services and localities.

The socialist revolutionary task calls for us to step up efforts to build and develop the working class so as to make it grow rapidly and strongly both in the quantitative and qualitative dimensions to deserve the role of being the leading class in the revolution and of being the fundamental decisive factor in scoring victory in the task of industrial transformation and socialist construction.

Therefore, the FLTU at all levels must educate and train workers to improve their standards in all spheres and to encourage them to develop a profound sense of collective mastership and sufficient revolutionary qualifications.

One of the most important roles of the FLTU at all levels must educate and train workers to improve their standards in all spheres and to encourage them to develop a profound sense of collective mastership and sufficient revolutionary qualifications.

One of the most important roles of the FLTU is to strengthen the special solidarity, militant solidarity, and all-round cooperation among the Lao, Vietnamese, and Kampuchean trade unions and peoples on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to further consolidate and develop cooperation with the Soviet trade unions and those of the other fraternal socialist countries.

At the same time, it must make preparations to positively participate in the movements of the WFTU, which is the most extensive and progressive international trade union organization of the international working class and the international workers movement.

The Lao working class, laboring people, and people of all tribes throughout the country view the First National Congress of the FLTU with full confidence that under the clear-sighted and talented leadership of the LPRP headed by beloved and respected Comrade General Secretary Kaysone Phomvihan, and by implementing the resolutions adopted at this congress, the trade union organization at all levels will score even greater achievements, become more attentive in educating and training as well as mobilizing and organizing workers and state employees, and march forward together with the entire party, army, and masses to score great achievements in the tasks of building socialism and defending our socialist country.

May the FLTU congress score a glorious success.

First FLTU Congress Closing Speech

BK171717 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0834 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Speech by Thit Soi Sombatdouang, alternate member of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Federation of Lao Trade Unions Central Committee, delivered at 16 December closing ceremony of the First National Trade Union Congress in Vientiane ---live]

[Text] Respected and beloved Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee; respected comrade party and state leaders; and dear comrade delegates and foreign guests:

Dear comrades, after 3 days of working in an earnest and enthusiastic spirit and with a high spirit of responsibility by the delegates, our trade union congress has concluded with glorious success. Our congress would like to express deep thanks and gratitude to beloved and respected Comrade General Secretary Kaysone Phomvihan for giving precious instruction to our congress, highly appreciating the movements of our workers and trade unions, and giving guidance to our trade unions to carry out all activities in the next stage. Our congress also would like to express thanks and gratitude to comrade party and state leaders for their close guidance to the congress.

Dear Comrades, through scrupulous discussions and explanations our congress has reached unanimity in evaluating the situation of all movements of workers and state employees and the significant contribution made by the trade unions under the correct and clear-sighted leadership of the party in the cause of the national-democratic revolution and in the struggle to defend the country and build socialism. Our congress has also reviewed the many precious lessons of the workers movements and the trade unions' activities. It has put forth major directions, duties, and methods for the trade unions to implement in the immediate future in educating and training the workers and state employees and organizing them to launch large-scale socialist emulation campaigns in an enthusiastic and continuous manner to successfully translate into reality the resolution of the third party congress and the First 5-Year State Plan. [applause]

Our congress has unanimously approved the rules and regulations of the Federation of Lao Trade Unions, rules and regulations which are aimed at building and strengthening the trade unions in all political, ideological, and organizational fields so that they can successfully fulfill their sacred responsibilities and glorious tasks in the new stage of revolution. Our congress has elected a new Central Committee and a new secretariat of the Federation of Lao Trade Unions, which are composed of various outstanding comrades who have experience in the trade union movements and who have been widely trusted, respected, and loved by the trade union members, the masses, and the workers and state employees.

The glorious success of this congress of our trade unions has, first and foremost, resulted from the close and attentive guidance of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the party Central Committee and from the close coordination and sincere support and assistance of various party and mass organizations, both at the central and local levels, as well as of our fraternal people, workers, and state employees throughout the country. They said glorious success has also resulted from the tireless endeavors and perseverance of the delegates to this congress.

The congress would like to wholeheartedly praise and hail the trade unions at all levels, all trade union members, and all workers and state employees for their positive participation in the socialist emulation campaigns and for scoring great achievements to welcome this trade union congress. [applause] Our congress would like to wholeheartedly hail and thank various working units attached to the party Central Committee, the defense forces, and fraternal service cadres in this congress for attentively concentrating their intelligence, energies, materials, and spirit on surmounting all difficulties in performing duties day and night in the preparatory period as well as during the convening of the congress, thus significantly contributing to the great success of our congress. [applause] Our congress would like to express sincere thanks to the WFTU delegation and the trade union delegations from various fraternal socialist countries which have brought the profound sentiments of friendship, close solidarity, and best wishes to our Lao working class and laboring people. [applause]

From this grand rostrum, on behalf of the congress, I once again would like to express sincere gratitude to the WFTU and the trade union organizations of various fraternal socialist countries for having always given precious support and assistance to our Lao trade union organization and for their material and spiritual assistance to this heroic congress of our trade unions.

Dear comrades, the glorious success of this national trade union congress marks a new turning point of the growth and development of our trade union movements. It will vigorously encourage our working class and laboring people throughout the country to actively move forward in all domains and to overcome all difficulties and obstacles in translating into reality the resolution of this congress and worthily contributing to the secure defense of the country and the successful building of socialism.

Long live the LPRP -- organizer and leader of all victories of the revolution! [applause]

For the cause of national defense and socialist construction and for the happiness and prosperity of the people of various tribes, let our working class heroically march forward. [applause]

Long live the close solidarity between the working class of Laos and the socialist countries in the world! [applause]

Long live world peace! [applause]

Amid this joyous atmosphere, I now announce the 1st Lao National Trade Union Congress closed. Thank you. [applause]

# Leaders Attend Closing

BK171149 Vientiane KPL in English 0909 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Excerpts] Vientiane, December 17 (KPL) -- After 3 days of session the First Congress of the Federation of Lao Trade Unions [FLTU] was officially closed here yesterday.

Present on the closing ceremony were Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP CC, and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Souphanouvong, Political Bureau member of the LPRP CC, president of the LAO PDR [People's Democratic Republic] the People's Supreme Assembly [PSA], and the Lao Front for National Construction; Nouhak Phoumsavan, Political Bureau member of the LPRP CC, first vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers; General Khamtai Siphandon, Political Bureau member of the LPRP CC, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of defence, and commander-in-chief of the Lao People's Army; Sisomphon Lovansai, Political Bureau member of the LPRP CC and vice president of the PSA; and a number of party and state's leading officials.

A present [as received] on election of the executive body of the FLTU was read to the participants by Bouapheng Bounsoulin, member of the secretariat of the executive body.

The new executive committee of the FLTU is composed of 21 members representing the workers throughout the nation, and having Thit Soi Sombatdouang as president of the FLTU, Somboun Vongnobountham and Chansai Nanthavong, as vice-presidents. The secretariat board is composed of 5 members, Thit Soi Sombatdouang, Somboun Vongnobountham, Chansai Nanthavong, Bouapheng Bounsoulin, and Sinsai Keomanivong.

Yiya and Khammon Phonkeo, members of the new executive committee of the FLTU, respectively took turn to put forth the resolution of the congress, and, the declaration condemning the war-monger policy waged by Reagan administration and other international reactionary forces against peace and socialism.

The FLTU's declaration formulated complete support to peace policy and reasonable initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for the benefit of world detente and the abolition of war-atmosphere.

A banquet in honour of the success of the congress was held in the evening of the same day, which was attended by party and state leaders, along with congress delegates and foreign guests.

#### FLTU Success Hailed

# BK200855 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 1200 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Excerpt] This afternoon, over 1,000 workers and laboring people in Vientiane held a grand meeting to hail the success of the First National Congress of the Federation of Lao Trade Union [FLTU], which was held from 14 to 16 December 1983.

Attending the meeting were Lt Gen Saman Vignaket, secretary of the party Central Committee and chief of the central Organization Committee; Khambou Sounisai, member and deputy secretary of the party Central Committee, and chairman of the Vientiane municipal administration; members and alternate members of the party Central Committee; several ministers and deputy ministers; and representatives of Buddhist bonzes, of the youth, women and trade union organizations, and of the people of all tribes.

### PASASON Praises Congress

## BK190939 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0000 GMT 17 Dec 83

[17 December PASASON editorial: "Hail the Success of the First National Trade Union Congress"]

[Text] After working urgently and enthusiastically for 3 days in the spirit of close unity, the First National Congress of Lao Trade Unions has ended with glorious success. The congress profoundly and multifacetedly assessed the revolutionary movements carried out by the Lao working class and laboring people of all tribes under the correct and clear-sighted leadership of the party in the cause of national-democratic revolution and in the struggle to defend the country and build socialism. At the same time, the congress summed up many valuable lessons concerning workers movements and activities of the trade union organization.

The congress laid down major tasks and methods for the trade union organization in the new period of the revolution. To fulfill the revolutionary line, the resolutions of the third party congress, and the First 5-Year State Plan, and to translate into practice the success of the First National Trade Union Congress, trade unions at all levels and all workers and state employees must deeply understand the party's major outlooks, such as the outlook on the struggle between us and the enemy and between the two paths—socialism and capitalism, the outlook on the reations between production and circulation, and the outlook on economic relations with foreign countries.

The working class has been entrusted with a historic obligation — that is, it is the vanguard class in shifting toward socialist industry and building socialism. The working class must lead in carrying out the three revolutions and in promoting the role of collective mastery of the working class and the laboring people. The working class and the laboring people have become the masters of their country and society; trade unions have become members of the proletarian dictatorship system.

Therefore, the working class must carry out its responsibilities -- to unite, educate, and train workers and state employees with the purpose of fulfilling the party's socialist revolution line and state plans. It must mobilize workers and state employees to participate in managing enterprises, offices, and organizations and must represent workers and state employees in managing the economy, state, and society. It must follow and examine the implementation of the various state procedures and policies and pay close attention to the legitimate interests and living conditions of workers and state employees.

Based on their role and responsibilities, trade unions at various levels must clearly formulate their duties for each period in order to carry out the responsibilities and right to collective mastery of workers and state employees in fulfilling the party's line set for the new period of the revolution. At present, our country has entered a new period of the revolution — the period of transition directly toward socialism without going through the period of capitalist development. This will be done by carrying out the two strategic tasks of defending the country and building socialism.

To achieve this aim, trade unions have had the main duty of attentively educating and training workers and state employees by arming them with class consciousness, socialist consciousness, sense of labor, sense of organization and discipline, a high political, cultural, and technical level, and a simple and honest way of living. Trade unions must regularly mobilize and organize socialist emulation campaigns for workers and state employees. These workers and state employees must be educated and trained to clearly understand the struggle between us and the enemy and between the two lines — socialism and capitalism. Trade unions must continuously improve the living conditions of workers and state employees and correctly implement the party's foreign policy.

The Lac working class is part of the international working class. The Lao trade unions' diplomatic task is to, together with the world workers movement, positively contribute to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism, and closely unite and cooperate in all respects with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. For example, they must maintain the special solidarity, militant alliance, and all-round cooperation with Vietnam and Kampuchea, which constitute a decisive factor for all successes of our country's revolution.

To ensure the successful implementation of the above tasks, it is necessary to hasten to consolidate and build the organization and heighten the ability of the entire trade unions system. First of all, it is necessary to strengthen and consolidate the grassroots trade unions and turn all unionist activities into those of the masses.

Since trade unions are part of the proletarian dictatorship system led by the party, all unionist activities must be closely linked with its political tasks at each period so that the party can set forth plans and policies in conformity with the masses' aspirations. Party committees at each level must lead the local administration and closely coordinate with trade unions in all spheres of work and make them symbols of unity between workers and state employees and the state power.

The congress unanimously approved the regulations of the Federation of Lao Trade Unions. These regulations are aimed at building and strengthening trade unions politically, ideologically, and organizationally so that they can fulfill their honorable and glorious responsibilities, role, and duties in the new period of the revolution.

The congress elected a new executive committee of the Central Committee of the Federation of Lao Trade Unions, comprising outstanding comrades who are experienced in the trade union movement and who have enjoyed the trust and love of trade union members, workers, and state employees.

This historic congress of the Lao trade unions is a symbol of the traditional unity and high determination of the working class. It serves as a strong encouragement for the working class and our laboring people.

We are very proud of being born and growing in a nation which has had the tradition of gallant, unyielding struggle and which has been led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist party -- the honorable and glorious LPRP.

Despite many difficulties on our path of advancement, even though the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, the U.S. imperialists, and other reactionary forces are still colluding to sabotage our revolution, we are firmly confident that under the resolute, correct, wise, and clear-sighted leadership of our party, the Lao working class and laboring people will inevitably triumph on the path of advancing toward socialism.

The glorious success of the congress marks a new milestone for the growth and development of our trade union movement.

It will vigorously mobilize and encourage the working class and laboring people in our country to advance in all spheres of work, overcome all difficulties and obstacles, fulfill the resolution of this congress, make honorable contributions to national defense, and successfully carry out socialist construction.

# MINISTER ANNOUNCES 'ALL REEDUCATION CAMPS' CLOSED

BK190256 Hong Kong AFP in English 0115 GMT 19 Dec 83

[By Bruno Franceschi]

[Text] Vientiane, Dec 19 (AFP) -- Laos closed all "reeducation" camps this year, a minister recently announced here, four years after the regime decided to soft-pedal the implementation of its communist policies. But the announcement brought small satisfaction to the 15,000 to 30,000 inmates of the camps, a diplomat commented wryly.

For the vast majority of the political opponents of the regime interned in the camps it has only meant a change of category. They have not been allowed home, but their families have been allowed to joint them in the remote and gloomy areas chosen for the camps. With no viable judicial system, decisions to release people or keep them in detention are entirely arbitrary, one foreign source noted.

Civilian or army supporters of the old regime were joined in the camps by communist officials who fell from grace. One such communist supporter, Vanthong Phommavongsa, returned from France in 1977 and was sent to be "reeducated" for almost a year. On his release he was made one of four vice-construction ministers.

This acute shortage of competent people to fill government posts is one of the paradoxes of the communist regime here. It is prepared to welcome back people whose Marxist convictions are distinctly shaky, and happy to put in senior positions people fresh from detention.

The government has a clear conscience, Vice Foreign Minister Souban Salitthilat said here, because it did not resort to a bloodbath when it took power eight years ago. During its first years in power, the government took a hard line against dissenters, encouraging opponents into exile and imprisoning those who had been closest to the ousted royalty.

About a tenth of the population -- 300,000 people -- fled across the Mekong River into Thailand. Alarmed at the rush to leave, in November 1979 the Communist Party Central Committee decided to ease its policy. This brought a noticeable drop in the number of departures, particularly in 1981.

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 46,000 Laotians registered in Thai refugee camps in 1979, 45,000, in 1980, but only 20,700 in 1981 and 5,020 in 1982.

Laos frequently accuses Thailand of hosting training camps for refugees who make armed incursions into Laos across the Mekong, a difficult border to seal. At the same time, Vientiane is well pleased that Bangkok has refused to recognise any Laotian Government in exile, such as the one formed by General Phoumi Nosavan on Oct 10, 1982 which was rapidly denounced by even those who were to have been part of it.

Its most serious opposition comes from the United Front for the National Liberation of Laos, which is backed by China. It is mostly made up of ethnic hill tribes such as the Mongs, trained by the Chinese Army at a rate of 4,000 men a year and thought to be led by Kong Le. In May his men reportedly carried out a big military operation in northern Laos, which was only crushed with the intervention of the Vietnamese Army.

The "Chinese threat" and the activities of the front are sufficient justification for the government to maintain 40,000 Vietnamese troops on its territory. This military presence was decided under a friendship and cooperation treaty signed on July 18, 1977 for 25 years.

These internal security problems explain why all the government's development schemes are concentrated on the central plains or in zones firmly under military control.

# SALI VONGKHAMSAO ATTENDS COURSE ON COOPERATIVE

BK201020 Vientiane KPL in English 0935 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] Vientiane, December 20 (OANA-KPL) -- "The success of this training course has reflected the continual development of cooperativization works in our country," said Sali Vongkhamsao, secretary of the party CC, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of State Planning Committee, at the closing ceremony of the third promotion of agri-coop-work managers organized on December 16.

In his speech, S. Vongkhamsao additionally stressed that the national cooperativization was an effective measure leading towards the great socialist agricultural production and hence ensuring the accomplishment of economic development plan and the national industrialization.

The course was conducted by Lao teachers in close cooperation with the Vietnamese agricultural experts and was attended by 54 agricultural cadres from various local cooperatives.

During the 40-day sitting, attendants had intensively studied cooperativization policy of the party and state and other documents concerning measures and procedures for the realization of agri-coop production work.

Also present on the occasion were Chanmi Douangboutdi, member of the party CC, director of the party and state ideological institute, and other Lao officials and foreign guests.

# SITTHI REMARKS ON TALKS IN WASHINGTON

BK201618 Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 0530 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Statement by Thai Foreign Minister Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila during an interview in Washington D.C. given to an unidentified correspondent of the Public Relations Department -- recorded; date not given]

[Text] The first objective of my current visit to the United States is to reply to an invitation for me to sign the extradition treaty. The new treaty will replace the old one signed in 1922. The new treaty has an extended provision on cooperation in the field of legal administration and justice. The signing took place on 15 December. I also held talks with U.S. Attorney General William French Smith. I was accorded a warm welcome. In the speeches made by both me and the U.S. attorney general, we stressed our friendly cooperation. We noted that our two two countries have entered into cooperation in nearly every field. The U.S. attorney general said that the ceremony was very significant, and he hoped to see cooperation continue between Thailand and the United States in court and judicial matters.

I also met with other high-level U.S. authorities, including Special Trade Representative William Brock, whom I met on 14 December. During the talks I raised several complaints I had, such as the problems with our canned tuna exports as well as other trade problems related to import control, standards control, and taxation. I also discussed with him the plan to set up a U.S.-Thai trade council for cooperation in trade exchanges. He noted that this area should be the concern of the private sectors of our two countries. On this, I would like to remind you that the prime minister had already led a delegation of our private sector to visit the United States and a U.S. private sector delegation had also visited Thailand. The Thai private sector now should follow up on this to look for new grounds for trade and investment cooperation.

### Purchase of F-16A's

BK210049 Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 21 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] The Reagan Administration has agreed in principle to sell a squadron of the 79-version F-16A jet fighters to Thailand, Foreign Minister ACM [Air Chief Marshal] Sitthi Sawetsila said last night. Talking to reporters at Don Muang Airport on his return from a 10-day trip to the United States, ACM Sitthi said contract on the purchase of the sophisticated jet fighters has yet to be signed between Thai and American authorities and delivery is expected to begin in 1987. He said the assurance to sell the F-16A's to Thailand was given during his talks with Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger and Assistant Secretary of Defence Richard Armitage. He added that the senior U.S. officials also promised to Thailand's request for the finding of financial sources for the purchase of the jets despite similar requests made by several other countries. The foreign minister said before he left for Washington early this month that Thailand prefers the 100-version to the 79-version byt the U.S. would not easily sell the more sophisticated version to a foreign country.

ACM Sitthi said he and U.S. Attorney General William French Smith also signed an extradition treaty between Thailand and U.S. and raised Thailand's concern on protectionism against Thai exports during his talks with special trade envoy William Brock during his visit to Washington. The agreement will include extradition of prisoners on drug charges but those liable to execution as imposed by the Thai law will have to be ensured of pardon before they are sent back to Thailand since capital punishment is banned in certain states, the foreign minister added.

# TEXT OF LE DUAN'S CPV CENTRAL COMMITTEE SPEECH

OW201014 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 15 Dec 82

["Text" of 7 December speech by CPV Central Committee General Secretary Le Duan at the Fifth Party Central Committee, entitled: "Exercise Collective Mastery and Make Full Use of Our Aggregate Strength To Effect a Profound Socioeconomic Change" -- reau by announcer;

[Text] Dear comrades: Our party Central Committee pienum discussed two issues: one, examining and approving the guiderines for the socioeconomic tasks and plans for 1984 and the targeted achievements for 1985; and two, examining and deciding on a number of matters on readjusting the distribution and circulation operations. You comrades have expressed ample views over the past days. Before the plenum approves the draft resolution, I would like to deal with the following issues:

#### Assessment of the Situation

Our comrade members of the party Central Committee were unanimous in assessing the achievements and difficulties as mentioned in the draft resolution. We must profoundly analyze the reasons for our achievements as well as for our failures. The progress we have already made stems from the correct line which was set at the fourth party congress and elaborated on at the fifth party congress, and which has been understood even more clearly and applied in conformity with the practical situation.

Another factor — which is also very important — is the renovation of economic management, including economic planning and incentive policies. This renovation, though still in its initial state, has stimulated the working people in their production efforts and encouraged all levels and branches, especially the localities and grassroots units, to strongly promote their spirit of initiative and their creativeness in exploiting the country's economic potentials. Without this renovation, there will be no progress in various fields.

The achievements recorded were the results of the efforts and aggregate strength of the whole country and of a broad mass movement for creative labor. All localities and grassroots units have made considerable efforts. All branches at the center, from agriculture to industry, from production to the distribution, circulation, and transport of goods, have also made great efforts.

All our economic, scientific, and technical cadres have made positive contributions. All products turned out, be it a pound of paddy or a kilowatt-hour of energy, were the results of those common efforts. All goods manufactured, either agricultural or industrial products, were the results of not only the sweat of direct producers and the contributions by our scientific, technical, cultural and art workers, but also the blood of our combatants. Even the very growth of each locality or installation was also the result of that aggregate strength.

Our achievements also stem from the international cooperation and assistance of the Soviet Union in particular and of other fraternal socialist countries.

The basic lesson we can draw from our past achievements is how to exercise our rights to collective mastery and use our combined strength.

We have taken our economy through the decline resulting from the upheavals of 1979-80, and have advanced and stabilized it step-by-step, thus opening up prospects for vigorous new progress. However, great difficulties still lie ahead of us, in production, in the distribution and circulation of goods, and in everyday life.

These difficulties stem from many subjective and objective causes which were analyzed at the third and fourth party Central Committee plenums. We must be fully aware of the difficulties resulting from a predominant small-scale production, from the aftermath of long years of war in the past, and from the multifaceted war of sabotage being conducted by our enemy at present, especially in the social and economic fields.

While advancing from a small-scale production, we have to simultaneously carry out two major strategic tasks: building socialism and defending the fatherland. In building socialism, we have to meet the people's needs in daily life and must at the same time accumulate capital for the nation's industrialization. This is the root cause of all our difficulties. So long as we do not have large-scale production and big industry, difficulties will remain, and great ones at that. That is actually the reason why labor output, the quality of products, and economic efficiency have not been raised quickly and the working people's life has not been significantly and promptly improved. As socialist industrialization plays a key role, we must be resolved to achieve it if we are to forge ahead mightily.

We must also size up our subjective shortcomings, which result from our failure to fully grasp the party's line and the ruthless character of the stuggle between us and the enemy as well as between the socialist and capitalist roads. There are also shortcomings in the process of renovating the mechanism of management and planning, although socioeconomic management is not child's play.

Our fraternal countries, though going through many years of socialist construction, must still look for a more effective management method and must concentrate on constantly perfecting the mechanism of management and planning.

I must say that we have committed avoidable errors and have repeated again and the shortcomings which were criticized and for which a remedy has been prescribed. We have delayed the correction of the outdated organizations and policies and, as a result, we are still continuing the bad practices of centralism, red tape, and subsidy-based administration. At the same time, we have failed to promptly overcome the manifestations of dispersion, parochialism, localism, incoherence, and indiscipline.

Being responsible to the party and the people, all levels and branches must, on the one hand, be severe toward their own errors and shortcomings, and on the other hand, must understand that, in such a critical, and even dangerous situation as at present, the fact that our country's economy still holds firm and is even making headway, is an achievement we may be proud of and should reaffirm so as to advance steadily.

# Socialist Collective Mastery

The socialist revolutionary line set forth by our party is to hold fast to proletarian dictatorship, develop the working people's right of collective mastery, and simultaneously carry out the three revolutions in which the scientific-technical revolution is the key one. To carry out socialist industrialization is the central task of the entire period of transition.

Proletarian dictatorship -- if considered a system which controls society -- is basically identical to socialist collective mastery. Collective mastery is the goal of socialism. At the same time, it is a very great motive force for building socialism. Consequently, in building, transforming, and managing the economy and culture and in planning the national economy, we must grasp the viewpoint of collective mastery, that is, we must manifest at all costs the working people's right of collective mastery, their right of being true masters of our regime. We must stimulate at all costs the dynamism and creativeness of millions upon millions of the masses of the people, the direct masters of socioeconomic processes.

Our economic strategy during the 1981-85 5-year period and during the 1980's is also the main substance of socialist industrialization in the immediate stage. As pointed out by the fifth party congress, this means to concentrate efforts to powerfully develop agriculture, considering agriculture as the primary front; take agriculture forward to large-scale socialist production; endeavor to step up production of consumer goods; continue to build up a number of important heavy industry sectors; and combine agriculture, consumer good industry, and heavy industry into a rational industrial-agriculture structure.

Where is the key to materialize this strategy? It lies precisely in collective mastery and in the use of the aggregate strength, the strength of the entire nation, the strength of all the sectors and echelons, the strength of joint mastery by the three levels: central, local, and grassroots.

With this strength, right at the beginning we must at all costs control the precious capitals: manpower and land resources. We must make full use of the work force of 27 million people, 7 million ha of crop land, some 12 million ha of forest land, and nearly 13 million ha of untilled fields, hills, and terraced land. We must develop agriculture in all fields, first of all food production, exert resolute efforts to firmly solve the food problem, and at the same time expand the acreage of short-term as well as perennial industrial plants and boost stockbreeding. Along with agricultural development, industry must be developed proportionately, especially the manufacturing industry, with the aim of producing more industrial goods for domestic consumption and export.

Thus, in this initial stage, even before the appearance of large-scale industry, if we know how to control and make good use the manpower, land resources, and trades, we could still take our economy to large-scale production and satisfy the most essential needs in food, textile, housing, education, and medical care of our people, while gradually accumulating funds and resources for industrialization and ensuring the fundamental needs of consolidating national defense and security.

The system of collective mastery must be observed at all the three levels: in the whole country, in each locality -- province, city, precinct, and district -- and at the grass-roots -- villages and agricultural cooperatives, enterprises and unions of enterprises -- and according to the common mechanism in which the party is the leader, the people are masters, and the state is the manager.

Collective mastery on a national scale forms a single entity of which each locality and each unit is a component. The national economy is a unified system of which the local economies are integral parts.

The state, the central level, represents the right of mastery of the entire country. It governs the whole socioeconomic life of the entire country through the technical and economic sectors and the economies of various localities and different territorial regions.

Centralism and unification in socioeconomic management are essential. They constitute the superiority of socialism which we must grasp to motivate the strength of the entire country, build the material-technical bases of the entire country, and solve the socioeconomic problems of the whole people.

We say we use our plan as the focal point for managing the economy and society. This also means using the superiority of centralism and unification to manage the economic and social processes throughout the country.

The local administration represents the local people while representing the state, the central level, to directly control the economy, culture, and everyday life in the locality. It concerns itself with solving problems relating the interests of the local people while contributing to the building of the country and mastery of the whole country.

Relations among the central level, the locality, and the grassroots exist in any socialist country. However, in our country's circumstances, our party stresses the importance of local economy and emphasizes the development of the initiative and creative role of local and grassroots managerial levels. This is because in advancing from small-scale production, only by developing the initiative and creativeness of the grassroots and localities, especially the districts, can we satisfactorily use manpower, land resources, and trades, which are capitals that are closely linked to each locality, each grassroots level, not only with regard to territorial aspect but also with regard to natural economic, technical, and social factors.

In the advance from small-scale production, there must be a certain regional balance in the current labor distribution process and in the gradual establishment of various services and occupations. There will be favorable conditions to settle this issue only when this balance is achieved in each specific area, locality, or grassroots unit. Moreover, we must properly organize the working people's material and cultural life right in each locality, which must be the starting point. Thus, to exercise the right of collective mastery at three basic levels is a must. We must understand clearly that exercising mastery at these three basic levels does not mean that each level can exercise mastery together over each area, locality, and grassroots unit.

The role of the central level vis-a-vis the provinces and cities is very important. The role of provinces and cities vis-a-vis the districts and that of districts vis-a-vis the villages and subwards are also very important. The working people have the right and obligation to exercise mastery at all the three levels. Mastery over the entire country is most important. Only by exercising mastery over grassroots units and localities can the working people directly develop their mastery ability and concretely exercise mastery in production, distribution and circulation, and consumption. However, to exercise mastery over a grassroots unit or locality does not mean that one should take care of his own unit or locality alone, but one must also take care of the entire country so as to be able to better exercise mastery over it on a larger scale and in a more resolute way. And the better we exercise mastery over the entire country, the more adequately we will exercise it over a locality or grassroots unit.

In order to speed up agricultural development, we must develop the key industries such as electricity, coal, gas and oil, engineering, metallurgy, communications and transportation, chemicals, and building materials. This demands much capital, which comes from our transactions and cooperation with other countries and also from the contribution of the entire people.

Strong decentralization is aimed at helping localities and grassroots units to better exploit all the available local potentials in manpower, land, trade, and occupation and at accelerating the process of agglomeration at grassroots units. But agglomeration must be coupled with centralization [Taapj trung]. And only a correct and good agglomeration can bring about accumulation for socialism. It is the responsibility for all localities to better carry out production and trading operations.

A locality which is not well-off must strive to work harder to get enough food and to gradually accumulate wealth. A locality which has begun to accumulate wealth must strive to increase its accumulation. It must make worthy contributions which must be commensurate with the help it has received and must strive to further increase its accumulation for the center as a contribution to the country's industrialization.

The growth of capitalism depends on exploitation whereas that of socialism depends on thriftiness. Consumption must depend on production capacity. Our subsistence should not rely on loans. All the goods we have produced, though still in small quantities, must be used thriftily so that accumulation can increase further. We must strive to build state stocks at the central level as well as at other levels. Without accumulation, we can neither build material and technological bases of socialism nor achieve expanded reproduction.

It is significantly important to harmonize the relationship between accumulation and consumption nationwide as well as in each locality, grassroots unit, or household. This is the viewpoint on which we build our understanding of the issue of three levels of mastery, labor division, and decentralization. There is absolutely no question of division of wealth, benefits, rights, and the national economy. We must discern the difference between the struggle against centralism and red tape in economic and social management and the guarantee for the unified centralization of our national economy. This is an issue related to the nature and laws of socialism.

## Economy Planning

Unlike the capitalist system whose emergence and development were spontaneous and characterized by rivalry and anarchy in production, the socialist system as a whole and its economy have emerged according to a plan and gone through economic and social transformations right from the outset.

Since our country's entered the transition period, our party has affirmed that our economic transformation and construction must be in strict accordance with plans as essential instruments which must be depended on to lead and guide our country's socioeconomic development.

In conformity with the aforesaid viewpoint on collective mastery, we must work out our national economic plan at three basic levels: central, local, and grassroots. The requirement for renewing planning is to make each level depend on the unified orientation and basic objectives of the entire country to exploit its own potentials and strengths in an active and beneficial manner. The central level must create the most favorable conditions for the local and grassroots levels to achieve that. Plans must be mapped out right from the grassroots level upward.

In industry, importance must be attached to the plans of enterprises and joint enterprises. In agro-industry, importance must be attached to the plans of districts, because a district is the basic unit of socialist big agriculture. The managerial levels, from the central to the local levels, must provide guidance and cooperate with the grassroots units in working out plans. And on this basis, a general plan for localities, sectors, and the entire country can be worked out.

The center has shown to the localities and grassroots units four ways to formulate balanced plans. This is for the purpose of creating conditions for localities and grassroots units to bring into full play their collective mastery in planning work and to actively work out practical socioeconomic plans.

The potentials of localities and grassroots units remain very great. They consist of making full use of the available manpower, lands, machine power, and equipment. They also consist of thriftily using each working hour, each pound of paddy, each drop of oil, and each kilogram of materials or raw materials.

While emphasizing grassroots- and local-level planning, we should never forget that central-level planning plays the decisive role. Central-level planning controls economic relationships, is a main stabilizer, and is decisive for the most important products of the national economy. It ensures smooth management in the course of country-wide socioeconomic development and ensures that the basic rules of socialist economy can develop their impact.

On the basis of central-level planning, localities and gransroots units must positively tap their existing resources and satisfactorily apply the mottoes, "Joint central-local level work" and "Joint state-people-work," using it as a supplementary planning stabilizer. Meantime, they must utilize, for the right objective and effectively, the material supplies, raw materials, and fuel provided by the central level.

The delay in socialist transformation in recent years has adversely affected the tempo of economic construction and development. We should clearly realize that the socialist economy must hold predominance in industry, agriculture as well as in commerce.

We must strive to basically complete by the end of 1985 collective agricultural production in southern Vietnam through such forms as the solidarity production group, the production collective, and the agricultural cooperative.

It is necessary to immediately abolish private capitalist commerce and transform private capitalist industry with suitable forms, reorganize small industry and handicrafts, and rearrange small trade along with streamlining the trade sector network.

Transformation must go hand in hand with construction, but construction is the main task.

To speak of the five-sector economy in the south is to speak of its role in production, in the manufacture of goods. It does not mean that it has a share in controlling goods and money. Goods and money must come under the unified control of the state.

In the long run, the socialist economy will consist only of two fundamental sectors, the state and collective sectors. Besides, there will be the family economy and part of the private economy. We must exert all-out efforts to strengthen the state economy, especially the state industry, so that it will play an increasingly greater leading role in the national economy. We are not satisfied with the present situation of the state-run economy, especially the central-level industry, which has been growing slowly in productivity as well as in quality and efficiency.

Only about half of the state-run industry's production capacity has been used, mainly because of shortages in energy and raw materials, with now a few enterprises lacking domestically produced raw materials. That is because the state has failed to achieve control over production and circulation.

Promoting the centrally-run state economy is the responsibility not only of central-level sectors but also of the localities and grassroots units countrywide. There is no reason why we should allow shortcomings in the division of labor and decentralized management to lead to a situation in which certain localities make their material supplies and raw materials circulate among themselves, while centrally run state enterprises, due to shortages of those raw materials, fail to operate.

### Socialist Trade

Socialist economy is an economy that develops according to plan and that has as its objective the production of large amounts of materials and cultural wealth, to meet the increasing needs of the people, on the basis of a technology of increasingly higher level. Therefore, foremost in our socioeconomic planning are utilization value and a balance in the supply of materials. Meanwhile, it also attaches very great importance to values and a balance of values. That is why planning must be linked to profit-and-loss accounting and socialist trade, which is primarily based on planning, while positively applying commodity-monetary relations for satisfactorily meeting the three types of fundamental benefits: benefit of society as a whole, the collective, and the individual worker. With material incentives used along with political and ideological education, it helps stimulate production and achieve high production achievements. Failure to a apply those commodity-monetary rules will certainly lead to bureaucratic subsidy-based management and will inevitably hamper production. However, overrating them, to the point of letting them regulate production, will lead to a situation of pursuing market trends, which weakens planning.

The state must control production as well as commodities and money; it must control the market and prices in accordance with economic rules, and not through administrative orders only. It must do so mainly through economic measures while intensifying education and applying administrative measures when need be. Besides, in reality, not all capabilities can, from the start, be incorporated in planning. It is through trade activities that new factors will be detected and aroused, thus turning many potential capabilities into real ones.

Carrying out trade activities while using profit-and-loss accounting stimulates and creates conditions for promoting the dynamism and creativity of the producer and the manager and enhances their sense of responsibilities to planning tasks.

Socialist trade has thus become a motive force, a factor for the implementation of plans. That is the reason why planning must be coordinated with socialist trade and why planning must necessarily encompass all trade activities. That also helps explain the extremely important role of the pricing, wage, and incentive policies, market rules, and rules on exchanges of commodities and materials.

Capitalist trade has profit as its objective and anarchical competition as its method. But socialist trade aims to promote the dynamism and creativity of the producer and the manager in tapping all strengths and capabilities for fulfillment, and even overfulfillment, of all state plan norms, and thus satisfactorily guaranteeing benefits for society as a whole as well as for each collective and individual worker.

Departure from that basic goal certainly leads to shortcomings and errors. Performing trade activities does not mean cunningly seeking personal gains or gains for one's unit to the detriment of the common benefit of society as a while. Positively conducting trade activities means positively applying the party's basic policies and state regulations on production, distribution, and ciruclation in order to produce greater amounts of products for society. It absolutely does not mean personally devising peculiar policies and regulations contrary to the general policy.

Socialist trade must be closely linked to profit-and-loss accounting in order to determine the optimum project and to manufacture the largest possible amount of products with the least expense. If we perform economic activities in general, and formulate plans and conduct business activities in particular, without practicing profit-and-loss accounting, we will fail to have concrete reckoning of economic activities, fail to know how much we gain or lose, fail to determine work efficiency.

Without using profit-and-loss accounting, we will also fail to determine the level of consumption and accumulation, fail to point out the specific duties and rights of each management echelon, fail to assess product quality, fail to know who worked well, who did not, and so forth. In other words, only through the practice of profit-and-cost accounting can we truly control the whole economic process. Every enterprise, worksite, state farm, cooperative, and store must practice profit-and-loss accounting. All districts, provinces, and sectors must also adopt profit-and-loss accounting. General profit-and-loss accounting must be done for the entire economy. Profit-and-loss accounting must not be done only for an entire unit as a while, it also must be done for each product, for each activity of production, construction, transportation, and circulation. Each worker also must practice profit-and-loss accounting. Giving short shrift to profit-and-loss accounting, ignoring profits, losses, and work efficiency was a great shortcoming in management in years past.

#### Distribution and Circulation

Exercising mastery through planning and socialist trade means achieving mastery over production, distribution, circulation, and consumption of commodities. Through initial improvements in the management system, we took the first step in overcoming subsidy-based management system and have gradually created a planning system linked to profit-and-loss accounting and socialist trade. However, although that bureaucratic, subsidy-based malady had not been completely overcome, there has arisen an unhealthy tendency: the pursuit of free market trends, thus weakening the planning base, giving leeway to bourgeois elements and unscrupulous traders in their activities, and allowing the privately-run economy and free market to develop and encroach on the socialist battle-ground.

Can we reestablish socialist order on the distribution-circulation front? We should first affirm that the present abnormal situation does not stem from the fact that socialism is weaker than capitalism, as some people say. The socialist state, both at the central and local level, is in firm control of all the most essential economic forces, all land and all work forces. The socialist economy in general, and the state-run economy in particular, are the force that creates the largest amount of means of production and consumer goods in society; meantime, they also control all sources of material supplies and imports. It is an invincible force.

Difficulties in the distribution-circulation domain partly stem from the fact that production is developing slowly and that productivity, product quality, and production efficiency remain low. However, they are mainly due to our errors and subjective shortcomings, with the obvious ones being achieving control over production without firmly controlling distribution and circulation of goods; slackening proletarian dictatorship; lack of vigilance in the struggle between ourselves and the enemy; failure to firmly grasp the struggle between the two paths, socialism and capitalism.

As said above, we can control production through control of work forces, land, occupations, through planned arrangement and development of production and also through the fact that, while controlling production, we concurrently achieve control over distribution, circulation, and consumption of goods within each grassroots unit, village, city ward precinct, district, province, municipality, and across the country.

Each unit must make plans for what it is going to produce, the quantity to be produced, the number of workers and the amount of materials to be used. It also must make plans for what it is going to sell, to buy, and must know at what prices the exchanges will be made. With that done, it will be able to estimate its income, consumption, and accumulation for expanded reproduction.

Because the central level, the localities, and grassroots units control production in each area and each unit, they must also control products and the market from the grassroots level upward, in each area and each unit.

It is wrong to maintain that because productivity is still low and output is still limited, we cannot, and should not, tightly control commodities and money. We must wage a resolute struggle so that the state can control goods and money. This is the key issue in the "who defeats whom" struggle on the distribution-circulation front at present.

The state -- central and local -- must control the market through a rational division of labor and classification and through unified management and trade of essential goods. It must hold the monopoly in food, control most of the important agricultural products and goods whether they come from collective or individual production, and control and important material supplies, production means, and consumer goods deriving from the domestic state-run economy as well as from imports. The state plans the distribution of goods and funds, the organized planned exchange between industry and agriculture through the system of supply of production means, and the system of socialist trade according to the state's guiding prices.

We must rapidly transform and manage the market, eradicate bourgeois trade, and eliminate speculators, smugglers, and deviants within the state apparatus and national economy who collude with and serve dishonest merchants. We allow only the existence of the free market, which is meant to be a place where producers and consumers exchange non-essential goods which do not come under the unified management of the state, and not go through the intermediary hoarders of various types. However, this free market must also be managed by means of appropriate measures.

In order to control the market in particular, and the distribution and circulation of goods in general, we must deploy six systems down to the grassroots level: procurement, trade, materials supply, transportation, manufacturing industry, and credit. The immediate and decisive factor for the control of goods is to rapidly expand and consolidate socialist trade, including state-run trade and marketing cooperatives; to expand and revamp the system of materials supply; to purify the ranks of cadres and personnel engaged in trade and materials supply work; and to improve business and trading procedures.

Prices are social relations, of which particularly important ones are worker-peasant relations and accumulation-consumption relations. By assuming mastery from the stage of production, we are entirely capable of calculating in a planned manner the necessary loss of social labor and the relations pertaining to exchange values. From this we will set rational price indexes, first between industrial products on one hand and agricultural, forest, and marine products on the other. On the basis of developing the prerequisites for controlling production and distribution as stated above, we certainly can -- and must -- exert efforts to achieve unified management and price stability.

In the present situation, we must maintain the prices of goods that are essential for the life of the people and strive to bring down prices which have been falsely boosted due to enemy sabotage, the practice of keeping up with market fluctuations, competition in buying and selling, speculation, graft, waste, corruption, and bribery. We must oppose the erroneous practice and way of thinking that, because free market prices have increased manyfold over the state's guiding prices, in order to be able to buy and sell, one must raise the state's prices to the same level as or near the prices of the free market in order to control goods, thereby developing socialist trade and regaining control of the market.

We must ask again: Should saboteurs, the bourgeoisie, the free market, and private merchants be permitted to run roughshod in competing with the state in buying and selling; to collude with bad elements in agencies, enterprises, and stores to acquire goods from state warehouses; to freely engage in smuggling and controlling the prices, thus causing us to compete with them by raising the prices for buying and selling, terming this flexible price mechanism? Or should they be checked, forbidden to freely buy and sell food, agricultural products, and main industrial goods? Should we adopt dictatorship toward the saboteurs, the speculators, the smugglers; restore socialist order in the market; and ensure the state's right to unify trade of essential goods?

From this premise, the state enters into contracts with the peasants and handicraft workers, organizes planning of production and investments, draws up contracts for supply of production means, distributes to the laboring people the essential goods according to stabilized prices, expands credit, organizes buying from the source according to contracts or according to the practice of delivering the goods first and receiving the agricultural products later, or conversely according to the practice of buying on credit, receiving the agricultural products first and supplying the goods later. By doing this, we will be able to maintain the guiding prices and rational price index relations, enjoy the people's approval, and avoid the situation whereby prices are arbitrarily raised and high prices are paid in buying and charged in selling.

These are two ways of doing this, two viewpoints. The first way is dangerous. It turns state-run economy into the tail of the free market and consequently lets prices float and run into confusion, which will benefit only saboteurs, speculators, and private merchants. The second way is to truly assume mastery. Even so, there is still the question of buying according to incentive prices. However, incentive prices do not use free market prices as a standard, but must proceed from the basis of practical and reasonable cost prices and appropriate profits, to encourage and step up production while taking into consideration the relations of supply and demand, after eliminating the elements of sabotage and speculation. What is important is that the various sectors and echelons should endeavor to take hold and make use of the exchange goods funds and reduce to the lowest level the purchase according to incentive prices.

We must achieve unified management of prices. With regard to unified prices for the entire country, we must put the reviewing and announcing of prices under the jurisdiction of state agencies such as the Council of Ministers or the State Price Commission. Review of local prices is carried out on the basis of a rational division of labor and classification, under active guidance, and within prescribed limits. One must not arbitrarily change prices, especially big changes, without considering overall and homogenous measures in the economic, financial, administrative, and educational fields so as to allow negative consequences to appear.

The fact that our national financial and monetary systems are encountering difficulties also has its root cause in the poor output, quality, and efficiency of social production; added to this is the reduction in income from outside. However, like the aforementioned problems, the basic thing is that we must strive to revamp and stabilize our national finance on the basis of exploiting the potentials within our reach to develop production, increase output, tightly control the losses of material supplies, improve the system of using equipment and machinery, oppose waste and corruption, and raise the quality of products. By doing this, we will reduce the cost price, raise economic efficiency, increase the income of workers and civil servants, increase the receipts of the state budget, and gradually achieve accumulations of funds from within the national economy, attain reserves, and pay our debts to foreign countries.

Finance is not simply receipts and expenditures; it primarily and basically involves our taking control of production capabilities — from manpower and production means to business procedures — and our mobilizing to the highest degree these capabilities for production in order to attain high productivity, quality, and efficiency. We must carry out utmost conservation both in production and consumption, and in administration and national defense. We must determine measures, standards, plan norms and targets, and make them part of our policies. We must act so that conservation becomes action, a revolutionary way of life of millions of our people.

We must strive to balance our budget positively according to the principle of increasing receipts, saving on expenditures, assuring effective use of money without mechanically restricting investments in capital construction and expenditures necessary for production.

We must adopt resolute and urgent policies and measures to keep the capital and money in the state's; hands organize strict auditing of our finance and cash; and implement the policy of unifying management of finance, money, prices, and wages. Unofficial funds, funds that do not come under any budget, and unreasonable incomes are strictly prohibited.

We must help enterprises achieve financial independence and create conditions for them to develop their dynamism, initiative, and creativity in production and business. We must classify central and local budgets in such a way as to simultaneously ensure both central and local income, thus creating local rights to control the budget.

The question of livelihood and wages of the workers, civil servants, and the Armed Forces basically can be satisfactorily solved only on the basis of developing production, rationally organizing labor, and raising productivity, quality, and efficiency. In the immediate future we must adopt urgent measures to stabilize the livelihood of workers, civil servants, and the Armed Forces at an early date. At the same time we must continue to study an overall plan relating to prices, wages, finance, money, and trade in order to solve the problem in a more rational and stable way.

Science, Technology, and Social Culture

Science and technology are extremely important factors which play the key role in economic construction and transformation and in pushing production forward. In the past, scientific and technological progress made a noteworthy contribution to our economic achievements. Our science and technology have great potential and talented people, but they have not been satisfactorily exploited.

Various sectors and echelons have not considered science and technology as a direct production force and an essential part in the development of their branch or region, and have not adopted programs to rapidly apply scientific achievements and technological progress in production and everyday life. The state has not yet adopted a policy to vigorously encourage production and business installations to apply scientifictechnological progress. Neither has it adopted a policy to properly award those engaged in scientific-technological work, skilled workers and good managerial cadres.

The orientation for the scientific-technological work effort in the near future is to effectively support the raising of productivity, quality, and efficiency.

To do this, we must readjust and supplement the policies toward scientific-technological cadres and skilled workers and care for their living and working conditions. We must attract scientists and technicians to the production front; connect scientific-technological research agencies to production and business installations; connect scientific-technological research agencies to production and business installations; connect scientific-technological activities to the economy and livelihood; encourage scientific-technological cadres to use their intelligence in support of the construction of the economy and culture and the consolidation of national defense; and merge science and technology with the mass movement and make it a motive force that pushes production ahead.

Culture and society constitute an important front; but, over the past years, we have concentrated on production while neglecting cultural and social tasks, thus bringing our cultural and spiritual life to a slight decline.

Since the fourth party Central Committee plenum we have made an effort to overcome this shortcoming. Regarding the socioeconomic plans for the years ahead, we must pay attention to making proper investments in cultural and educational work, set standards for meeting the minimum cultural needs of the people, improve our educational work, and concentrate on developing the mass education movement in areas where illiteracy still prevails.

In the cultural and social spheres -- more than anywhere -- we must strengthen the party's leadership, strongly develop the people's strength, implement the slogan "The state and the people work together," try to launch a revolutionary mass movement to build a new culture and new men, oppose the enemy's sabotage activities, and overcome negative manifestations.

Foreign Economic Policy

Regarding the national economic plan for the years ahead, as well as in the current initial stage, we must expand foreign trade and develop export activities and other services in order to collect foreign currencies, because this is a strategic matter and an important link that contributes to ensuring a balanced plan. We must rapidly develop exports in order to increase the import of more and more technology, materials, and raw materials for the reequipment of the national economy and, at the same time, we must create conditions for the resumption of export operations on a larger scale and with a higher quality with a view to gradually achieving an export-import balance. That will help accelerate socialist industrialization.

Our country's export potential is still great, but in the past we have scored poor achievements and results. We must try by all means to readjust our foreign economic work and our foreign trade activities, ranging from our policy to the organization of export operations and our trade apparatus.

In the present situation in our country, it is very important to mobilize and encourage all sectors, occupations, localities, and grassroots units to produce export goods and to thriftily use consumer goods with a view to increasing export sources. However, we should not transact our businesses in a childish and piecemeal way; we must organize the production of export goods on a large scale and build concentrated specialized cultivation areas with a view to turning out major goods of high economic value.

We must concentrate now on exploiting our country's potential in agricultural and maritime products, on planting short— and long-term industrial crops in particular, and on livestock breeding for export purposes. The industrial and handicraft sectors must also seek ways to increase the sources of export goods, make proper investments in export and properly select works in order to exploit our country's potentials with fast and steady results. In this direction, we must rearrange our foreign trade organizations from the central to the provincial and city levels. The central and local levels must do export work together.

The State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade must do a better job in conjunction with various services and localities in order to create large sources of export goods. We must ensure the state monopoly in foreign trade and the center's unified mangement of foreign trade and foreign exchange, At the same time, we must strongly develop the localities' initiatives and creativeness in export development.

We must expand our export market, give priority to our cooperation with CEMA and the Soviet Union in particular, considering our comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union basic and long-range task. We must expand our cooperation with Laos and Kampuchea while developing our economic relations with other countries and international organizations in order to defeat the imperialists' and expansionists' policy of economic blockade. We must properly settle the relations regarding prices between our country and other countries and determine a rational exchange rate based on lowering production costs and increasing the quality of export goods. We must oppose competition in business and the hiking of export goods prices because this will cause a reduction in the exchange value of our currency.

# Economy and National Defense

Regarding our economic and social development plans, either annual or long-term, we must grasp the four objectives set by the fifth party congress. We must meet all requirements for national security and defense, understand the task of opposing the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage, correctly evaluate and be conscious of all enemies' schemes and sabotage activities on the economic front in particular, and apply affective measures to prevent and foil these activities. We must have a plan for protecting production, enterprises, machines, storage facilities, materials, and raw materials. This is a direct and imperative task of all services and economic installations. We must motivate large numbers of workers and state imployees in various production and trade installations to protect our economy.

Our armed and security forces must increase their activities against enemy sabotage. Our Armed Forces must effectively use their considerable manpower and material and technological bases to contribute to achieving the country's social and economic tasks. Wherever they are stationed, they must cooperate with the locality in strongly stepping up their participation in building the economy, particularly in the northern border provinces. In a number of localities, we note the presence of model troops engaged in producing grain and foodstuffs for their own consumption, participating in capital construction, building communications lines and irrigation and hydroelectric works, and securing funds for afforestation.

We must recapitulate and popularize these experiences. We must achieve good cooperation between the Armed Forces and various economic sectors in exploiting the potentials of our national defense industry and in producing economic goods. Meanwhile, we must also exploit the potentials of our civil industries to produce goods for national defense purposes.

Our party and administrative echelons must pay attention to caring for our Armed Forces' livelihood. All services and echelons must that with the Ministry of National Defense in properly settling logistical and the service issues.

Regarding the mountain region provinces, the Armed Forces' participation in economic construction must be achieved in accordance with the main guidelines for developing that region's economy.

The center must strive to increase invested capital and implement a proper policy to develop the economy and culture in these provinces, thus creating conditions for them to boost the intensive cultivation of food crops, including rice, corn, sweet potatoes, and manioc, on the available acreage; to combine agriculture with forestry, and to concentrate efforts on exploiting their potentials in forests industrial crops,

and livestock breeding, especially the breeding of large animals, in order to produce goods for exchange with other localities and for export purposes and to secure much more good and consumer goods.

Dear comrades; in the task of building and defending the fatherland in general and in the task of building and transforming our economy and culture in particular, we are facing numerous problems relating to our nation's destiny and survival. As a supreme leading organ of the party during the period between the two party congresses. the Party Central Committee must find correct solutions to these problems. As each party Central Committee plenum, a number of issues were raised for collective consideration and decision. But it is not easy to find solutions to all problems, and there are differing views. This is not surprising because economic and social management is not simple and quite new to us. For this reason, an investigation into problems is necessary and the correct attitude is to hold serious discussions and sincerely listen to each other's opinion. If a problem has not been properly discussed and solved because it lacks solid grounds, we must try a solution and examine the actual facts. In this way, we can reach an agreement on the orientation and action. Unity of minds and actions always remains a source of strength for our party. The party Central Committee and all party echelons must constantly strengthen the party's solidarity and singlemindedness.

The revolution is a task for the masses. Collective mastery constitutes the greatest strength with which to step up transformation, construction, production, and thriftiness, to reestablish socialist social order in the distribution and circulation field, to carry out the scientific and technological revolutions, and to build a new culture and new men in order to defend the fatherland and maintain political security and social order and safety. Our party organizations must intensify the mass motivation work and mobilize by one way or another the might of the people's collective mastery. Our mass organizations — trade unions, youth union, women's union, and peasants' association — must directly organize the masses to be masters, must develop the people's boundless creativeness, and must really typify the people's mastery in the movement to perform revolutionary acts.

Everything is decided by cadres. As pointed out by the fourth party Central Committee plenum, it is necessary to form a contingent of cadres endowed with a unified background, thorough understanding of the party's line, practical organizational ability, sense of discipline, political qualities, and revolutionary ethics. What is important is how to find those who are really able in economic management and in science and technology and who know how to use their abilities to enrich the fatherland and socialism. We can find these persons in our contingent of cadres, but some points in this issue have not been clearly understood because some people have an incorrect view of men and facts. Achievements in work and socioeconomic development must be used as a yardstick to evaluate cadres. Selection and placement of cadres must be aimed at improving the socioeconomic situation. With this viewpoint, we can find truly able cadres who must be placed in the position of managing production and trade machineries and in the key links that are decisive factors for productivity, quality, and effectiveness. Moreover, we must scrupulously implement the resolution of the fourth party Central Committee plenum on replacing those cadres who have committed serious errors and proved unable and unqualified to perform their tasks.

The party Central Committee's serious work over the recent days will allow us to reach a good resolution and settle the raised issues. This resolution will surely be welcomed by our entire party, people, and Armed Forces and materialized in life. We must satisfactorily carry out the political and ideological work, motivate the masses to uphold their spirit of self-reliance, and whip up a seething emulation movement to fulfill the 1984 state plan in order to create a steady momentum for entering the year 1985 to continuously advance the task of building and protecting the socialist fatherland.

# NHAN DAN DISCUSSES ARMY-PEOPLE RELATIONS

BK191448 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 18 Dec 83

[19 December NHAN DAN editorial: "The Army and People Share the Same Will"]

[Text] Born and matured in the laboring people's revolutionary movement and directly led by the party, our Armed Forces have since their founding possessed the fine nature of a people's army, originating from the people and fighting for the people.

Standing at the forefront of the struggle for national salvation and defense for nearly 4 decades, our Armed Forces have been present in the most dangerous and rigorous areas and fulfilled the most difficult and complex tasks assigned to them by the party and the state. Tens of thousands of cadres and combatants have sacrificed their lives for the sake of national independence and freedom, socialism, and the people's well-being.

Apart from showing their bravery and persistence in combat, our soldiers have also worked selflessly to help achieve economic restoration and development and heal the wounds of war, thus contributing to socialist construction. Many comrades have lost their lives while trying to clear away bombs and mines for the people to carry out their production and to rescue the people during typhoons, floods, and other natural calamities. Their exemplary reputation of sacrifice for the sake of the people will be deeply engraved forever in the hearts of the entire population.

Taking pride of and becoming more confident in their heroic and invincible Army, which is devoting itself to the service of the people, our people across the country have done their utmost to help nurture and build up the Army. During the years of hardship of resistance war as well as during the present period when the economic and welfare situation is still beset with difficulties, our people have always given their wholehearted love and care to our soldiers. They have volunteered to live in privation so that their soldiers can have enough food to eat and defeat the enemy and have contributed their manpower and assets to the cause of strengthening national defense and building up the Armed Forces.

The Army-people unity and singlemindedness, guided by venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh and by our entire party and cultivated by our Armed Forces and people throughout the past historic struggle full of difficulties and ordeals, have constantly developed and have become one of the most valuable traditions of our nation and Armed Forces.

Regarding the Armed Forces' duty of remaining combat ready to defend the fatherland, the resolution of the 5th party congress pointed out the need to strengthen the close relations between the Armed Forces and the people, regarding this as one of the factors to create a combined strength for national defense and as part of a bid to build an all-people national defense and the People's Armed Forces during the new revolutionary stage.

Esteemed Comrade Le Duan, our party general secretary, once pointed out in his address to our soldiers: The people are regarded as the respected and courageous mother of our Armed Forces. They are also the source of the unexhaustible strength of our Armed Forces. Therefore, soldiers must always maintain their close attachment to the people and must make sure that the Armed Forces and the people share the same will.

Fully aware of the party's ideological viewpoint, our Armed Forces have made the tasks of achieving Army-people solidarity and satisfactorily ensuring that the Armed Forces and people share the same will, two of the several important goals of the great campaign to develop the fine character and improve the fighting strength of the People's Armed Forces.

After 5 years of emulation in carrying out the campaign, the close relations between various Army units and the local administrations, mass organizations, and people in the areas where they are stationed have become increasingly consolidated and strengthened and have produced good results.

Military units and localities have actively discussed and achieved coordination in satisfactorily carrying out the various political tasks of the localities and the military units concerned.

The Armed Forces and the people have all concerned themselves with stepping up production, building and strengthening the self-defense militia forces, drawing up combat plans for local people's warfare, maintaining political security and public order and safety, and guarding against the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage.

Many military units have actively participated in afforestation and in giving care for and protection to forests. They have helped the people build many roads, bridges, culverts, schools, dispensaries, and day-care centers. They have built many projects of great utility for local economic and cultural life.

The people in various localities have wholeheartedly helped soldiers build their combat terrains and barracks. They have supplied soldiers with grain and food and have helped them develop their animal husbandry and crop cultivation in order to improve their living standards.

Many localities have motivated the people to contribute their manpower and assets to building impregnable border-defense lines and have given great attention to caring for the livelihood of frontline soldiers.

Many localities have given wholehearted care to disabled soldiers and families of fallen heroes and have satisfactorily implemented Army rear-support policies.

These fine results must be strongly developed by all of our Armed Forces and people. In the present revolutionary stage, one of the basic goals of the Army-people solidarity is to achieve close coordination and promote active revolutionary activities aimed at achieving the two strategic tasks laid down by the party, namely successfully building socialism and firmly defending the Socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Military units stationed in various localities must actively participate in building the localities concerned into comprehensively stable ones. All members of the Armed Forces must further uphold their fine tradition and character as Uncle Ho's soldiers. Every unit must give constant attention to educating their soldiers to strictly observe discipline in their relations with the people.

With their high sense of responsibility and their deep brotherly love for the Armed Forces, the people in various localities throughout the country as well as various echelons, sectors, and mass organizations must increase their assistance to our military units so that they can fulfill all the missions assigned to them by the fatherland.

With all of the Armed Forces and people sharing the same will and constantly heightening their revolutionary offensive spirit and a sense of self reliance, we will certainly be able to defeat the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage and successfully implement all the party's resolutions so as to successfully build socialism and firmly defend our beloved fatherland.

# SRV DOCTORS NOTE TOXIC EFFECTS IN SOUTH

BK180929 Hong Kong AFP in English 0756 GMT 18 Dec 83

[Text] New Delhi, Dec 18 (AFP) -- Eight years after the end of the Vietnam conflict illeffects of toxic chemicals used by the United States during the war still haunted the people of the country, two Vietnamese doctors said here today.

Doctors Cung Binh Trung and Vu Van Dieu of the Vietnam College of Medicine, told an international congress of genetics here that Vietnamese scientists, who studied the long-term genetic consequences of the chemical warfare agents, found chromosome aberrations and a higher incidence of miscarriages and birth defects in directly contaminated persons still living in sprayed areas.

The Vietnamese delegates said about 90,000 tonnes of herbicide and defoliant were used in South Vietnam with concentrations ranging from between 15-20 kg per hectare to 300 kg per hectare in unusual circumstances. The U.S. National Academy of Sciences has confirmed that about 57,000 tonnes of "Agent Orange" were sprayed, they added, in a paper submitted at the congress.

The Vietnamese geneticists carried out their investigations in two areas of Dong Nai and Ben Tre Provinces where the spraying of toxic chemicals had been confirmed by the U.S. academy. The Vietnamese said a study of 848 families in a number of communes in Ben Tre Province were also carried out to analyse spontaneous abortions and birth defects in living offspring during pre- and post-spray periods. It was found the abortion rate increased significantly in studied couples immediately after the war. Frequency of birth defects in families of the victims was significantly higher than before the sprays, they added.

Dr Cung cited the example of the Thuan Dien area, where 7 percent of the 795 pregnant women miscarried before the sprays and 17 percent of 735 pregnant women had abortions after the sprays.

All the abortions were spontaneously induced and did not include termination of pregnancy by trauma, diseases and drugs. The main birth defects noted were deafness, speech deficiency, club foot and cleft lips, they said.

# SUCCESS OF ETHNIC MINORITY RESETTLEMENT NOTED

OW172125 Hanoi VNA in English 1529 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] Hanoi, VNA Dec 17 -- The Central Highlands province of Darlak now has 14 villages with 6,000 people of the Edeh and h'Mong ethnic minority groups. Twenty-five hundred of this number are working at afforestation centres or state farms specializing in coffee, rubber trees and sugarcane.

In the past, most of these people lived in nomadic tribes. After the liberation of southern Vietnam, they have gradually settled in villages which were later integrated into state-owned farms. Each family was allotted from 500 to 1,000 square metres of land for housing and gardening. Besides, the government has supplied them with building materials and money to build their houses in the new villages. The farms and afterestation camps allotted them plots of land near their houses for the growing of coffee, rubber trees and other industrial plants. They deliver the main products to the state according to the contractual quota system and are allowed to keep all by-products for themselves. Thanks to the small-sized irrigation projects built by the farms, which also provide guidance in planting techniques, most families of the Edeh and h'Mong in the province are making a decent and stable living. From now to 1985, Darlak plans to bring the number of people of ethnic minorities working at state farms and logging camps to 200,000, thus basically completing the resettlement program launched several years ago.

# DEFENSE MINISTER ENRILE GIVES TV INTERVIEW

OW171459 Quezon City RPN Television Network in English 1445 GMT 14 Dec 83

["Tell the People" program entitled "What Does Juan Ponce Enrile Have To Tell the People," hosted by Julie Yap Daza, with Juan Ponce Enrile, Philippines minister of national defense; at Quezon City RPN Channel 9 studios -- live]

[Excerpts] [Daza] I'm here to ask your questions, and I know that we'll have plenty of questions tonight for our very special guest -- one of the more senior and one of the most dynamic and durable members of the Marcos Cabinet, Mr Juan Ponce Enrile, defense minister.

Good evening, Mr. Minister. Thank you for accepting our invitation to come here and tell the people what they want to know from you.

[Enrile] Thank you, too, Julie. If I remember correctly, the first time I appeared here, this program was "Tell the City."

[Daza] Right. We have grown.

[Enrile] Tonight, it is "Tell the People." I hope some day I will appear here to tell the world.

[Daza, laughing] Yes. I think you'll remember this program very well because our very first show had you for a guest, and our topic then was: What happens after martial law is lifted? And it was lifted I week after that show. So I'd like to ask our viewers -- because I know that you have plenty of questions for the minister -- please call us at 977-667, 668, and 669. We have installed one additional telephone tonight for all your phone calls. So don't hesitate to call. And if you have any complaints or any reports to make to the minister, kindly give your name and your telephone number, because at the end of the show we are going to turn over all those question cards to the minister and his staff here, so that they can act on your complaints or reports, if any. So, Mr Minister.

# [Enrile] Yes?

[Daza] I think, I think what is uppermost in most people's minds now that the year is coming to an end is this question -- or maybe not question -- fear that the military over which you sit as defense minister might be preparing for some kind of a coup, in spite of all the assurances and reassurances that have been coming from General Ver and the president. Do you see any reason why there is a basis, or do you think there is any basis for the fears and anxieties that there will be a military takeover?

[Enrile] Well actually, Julie, if you studied histories of countries that suffered under some kind of coup, a coup does not happen overnight. It has to be something that must be prepared over time. And I have been sitting in the Ministry of National Defense now for 14 years. I have not seen any visible sign of any effort to plan for a coup, apart from the fact that I think that our military officers in our Armed Forces are aware of the fact that our people consider them as protector of their interests and well-being, and not as their masters, and they realize this. Because every one of them, when they take, when they enter the service, they have to take an oath, and that oath suggests to them that they must respect, protect, and preserve, and defend the Constitution.

A coup, such as what you probably have in mind, would then suggest that the officers who may attempt to think and implement the thinking, including the men that they will bring along with them, would be operation outside of that oath, in which case their purpose would be to destroy the Constitution, and I think that very few men would ever attempt to think like that in the military organization. If ever.

[Daza] What conditions do you think ought to be there if any plot would be in the offing, dissatisfaction?

[Enrile] Well, if you have strong leaders in the military organization and weak leaders in the civilian government, that's a possibility. But apart from the fact that we do not have such a situation -- we do not have a history of coup d'etat in the Philippines.

[Daza] You don't think there could be a first time?

[Enrile] I don't think so. I don't think so. For me, that danger is only existing in the imagination of some people.

[Daza, giggling] It seems to me there are a lot of people entertaining that fantasy.

[Enrile] Well, you can conjure all kinds of scenarios, especially when people would like to get some attention from some sectors from some press. But as I said, you have to notice some signs of it to be able to make a conclusion that there is any truth to this suggestion that a coup is possible in the Philippines. In my opinion, personal opinion, I doubt it very much.

[Daza] As a civilian in the Ministry of National Defense, Mr Enrile, could you tell us how your ministry and the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] relate to each other. I mean to most of us?

[Enrile] Actually the Armed Forces of the Philippines is a bureau under the Ministry of National Defense. The Ministry of National Defense is a part of the structure of government, it's a part of the Cabinet, it is a line ministry, and as a line ministry it is a channel that runs from the presidency down to the bureau control which is actually the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

[Enrile continues] Now, apart from the AFP there are other bureaus under the minister of defense. You have the Weather Bureau, you have the Coast and [word indistinct] Survey, you have the Veterans Affairs, you have the Civil Defense Bureau, and the National Defense College....

[Daza, interrupts] The National Police.

[Enrile] The National Police Commission. The AFP is under the minister of defense as a bureau, and the minister of defense has supervision and control over that bureau. So much so that their budget is controlled by the ministry, the purchases by them of equipment, of services, of supplies, and everything that involves money is actually subject to the approval of the minister. All implementable regulations must be approved by the minister of defense.

[Daza] Including contracts and all such things?

[Enrile] Contracts, yes.

[Daza] So, if a civilian....

[Enrile, interrupts] Well, in my case, for instance, I delegate the authority to approve contracts to certain officials of the military organization, especially the chief of staff, for purposes of efficiency of administration.

[Daza] So if I were a citizen with a complaint, where should I go? To the Armed Forces, or....

[Enrile, interrupts] You can go directly to the Ministry of Defense and we will channel it to the proper offices in the organization.

[Daza] Just yesterday, was it, or 2 days ago General Ver was delivering a speech and he said something about divisive elements were out to destroy the AFP. Would you know what elements he was referring to?

[Enrile] Well, probably he is talking of people who are trying to portray that there is a division in the AFP, which is not quite correct. Of course in any organization you have disagreements of opinion on certain matters, especially when you are dealing with a vast organization as the AFP. You do not expect everyone to say yes to everything that is brought over the table for discussion. But once a decision is made the military organization as an organization must follow the orders of the superiors.

[Daza] Is it true that there is some tension at the top of the AFP....

[Enrile, interrupts] None that I know of.

[Daza continues]... as it was reported in a magazine recently, that there is some tension upstairs?

[Enrile] I do not know what top you mean.

[Daza] The top brass.

[Enrile] If you mean among the military leaders...

[Daza] Among the generals.

[Enrile] I doubt it. There has been talk of a rivalry between General Ver and General Ramos, but that was because the president was considering one of them to become chief of staff. But I think General Ramos, as a trained soldier, a professional one, subordinates himself to whomsoever the president has appointed to be chief of staff.

[Daza] What about your relations with General Ver? It seems that there are rumors. I hope you won't arrest me for rumormongering. Mr Enrile.

[Enrile] No, no, no. Well, there has been talk like that, but I never quarrel with my subordinates. He is my subordinate. I issue orders to him when there is a need for it, I issue directives, and they have to follow. And in fairness to him, on major issues involving the AFP he has to consult with the minister, in matters of organizing units, in evolving military plans that must be implemented he has to seek the approval of the Ministry of Defense. And thence to the approval of the president.

[Daza] Is it true that this smuggling case that happened in Atimonan? [sentence as heard] You know, the [word indistinct] that the soldiers and the policemen who were arrested for smuggling were soldiers or policemen close to you, and that the people who arrested them were soldiers close to General Ver.

[Enrile] Well actually, to tell you frankly, those people who were mentioned as belonging to the Ministry of Defense, really they were members of the security force, but I thought that they were already returned to their units because some time back I ordered that these people must be returned to their units because these were members of my old security force. And I forgot all about it, but then they were taken over and assigned to Colonel (Figueroda) who left the Ministry of Defense as commander of my security unit to become the deputy commander of NORCO, the North Command which covers the entire Ilocos region. And he requested that these people must go with him.

Although they were charged as men assigned to the Ministry of Defense. I did not know that they were doing this. But, as I said, the mere fact that some people in an organization commit a crime like that does not suggest that the ministry or government office itself....

[Daza interrupts] Responsible.

[Enrile] .... Is a participant in the crime. And that is the reason why we ordered, we suggested that they ought to be court-martialed.

[Daza] I saw news footage of their being court-martialed. Has the decision been reached? A verdict?

[Enrile] I think the court-martial proceeding is ongoing.

[Daza] Is still ongoing. Now, while we're talking about trials and all such things. Mr Enrile, what do you think of the Agrava Board as a civilian and as a lawyer?

[Enrile] Well, I think the Agrava Board is performing a creditable job.

[Daza] Are you going to be called as a witness one of these days?

[Enrile] I was notified that they want to invite me and I said, by all means, I am ready to be invited.

[Daza] What do you think they want to interview you for?

[Enrile] Well, I suppose they want to find out about the telegram that I sent to the former Senator Aquino when he was still in Boston.

[Daza] You asked him not to come home?

[Enrile] I sent him a telegram asking him to delay his coming for a month because of certain information that we received.

[Daza] Uh-huh. And did he reply to your telegram?

[Enrile] No, although (Doy) Laurel informed me about his decision to postpone his coming.

[Daza] Uh-huh. [commercial interruption] Mr Enrile, we were talking about the Aquino case and you said something about being called by the Agrava Board.

[Enrile] Well, I will not go beyond that, you know, because I will have to respect the existence of the Agrava Board and I will be appearing there soon.

[Daza] Is it true that you tendered your resignation after the August 21 incident?

[Enrile] No.

[Daza] That was another rumor floating around.

[Enrile] No, no. In fairness to everybody, that was not true. In fact, I had to deny it, because there was no truth to it. What really happened, what probably was thought as a resignation was the fact that some time in July I went to the president and requested if I could go back to law practice, but then the president said: Well, I hope you don't mind if I ask you to stay on, and....

[Daza interrupts] So you antedated Minister Romulo and Minister Romulo's....

[Enrile interrupts] No, not really, that was about, ah....

[Daza] July, you said.

[Enrile] If I remember correctly, sometime about the middle of July.

[Daza] Was it about the time that you and UP [University of the Philippines] President (Angara) were supposed to have split and you....

[Enrile interrupts] Who is that? [laughs]

[Daza] I think that's a very telling answer, Minister Enrile. [laughs] What did you mean by that?

[Enrile] No, no, no. Well, no, no, not really. I was really planning to go back to private life, because I'd been in the government for such a long period of time.

[Daza] How many years?

[Enrile] I've been.... I joined the government in January of '66, and then there was a brief period that I was out of it in 1971 when I lost the election for senator — that was from September of 1971 until the first day of January of 1972 — and it was between that time, in fact, that I organized a law firm which later on became known as (Acra) although I had no financial interest in it because when I was called back by the president to join the government I left it to (Angara's) group. And that's why I felt that I should organize a new group of lawyers where I can go back to, and that is what I was doing at this point when I asked permission from the president and the president asked me to stay on. And that is probably the reason why this rumor floated that I was resigning.

[Daza] There was some talk before that -- I think you told me -- if the president were ever to shift you to another position in the Cabinet, you would resign. Do you still feel that way?

[Enrile] I said that the Ministry of Defense would be the last job that I will hold in the government.

[Daza] How is the Ministry of Defense in the Cabinet hierarchy? Is it the premier ministry, or is it the Foreign Affairs Ministry?

[Enrile] Well, I would like to believe that the Ministry of Defense is one of the highest positions that a Cabinet officer can aspire for.

[Daza] But not the highest?

[Enrile] No. In protocol, in the order of protocol it is quite low, in the order protocol. But in terms of importance and visibility in the national scheme of our life, it is quite a ministry to handle.

[Daza] I think it's one of the biggest, with 200,000 soldiers under you, under Sergeant Enrile.

[Enrile] How do you know that we have 200,000 soldiers? [laughs]

[Daza] How many do you have then?

[Enrile] We do not have anywhere near that, you know, and ...

[Daza interrupts] How many are there?

[Enrile] I cannot tell you...

[Daza interrupts] Is that a secret?

[Enrile] because it is prohibited by law to reveal any information like that.

[Daza] Oh. Well here's a question from Toots Cruz of Querzon City, since you were talking about your supposed resignation. The opposition included you, sir, in the proposed caretaker government, together with Prime Minister Virata and a few others. Could you please comment on this?

[Enrile] I'm flattered. But there's no need for a caretaker government. We are stable and functioning. Why should there be a need for a caretaker government?

[Daza] Later on would you want to think about....

[Enrile interrupts] I don't think we will need a caretaker government. In fact, when we shall have amended the Constitution, the caretaker will be the speaker of the house.

[Daza] For a time though, Mr Enrile, people were missing you and your statements. [Enrile] Oh, yes. I'm flattered again. [laughs]

[Daza] They were missing you. They said you were keeping a rather low profile at a time when there were so many demos and rallies, and again....

[Enrile interrupts] You know, Julie, since 1980, I've already instructed my public information office to start toning down any exposure to the public, and that was why I was really getting into the limelight in a very subdued and far-between manner. And when the August 21st incident involving the assassination of Senator Aquino happened, well, what can one say? What can one say under the circumstances, except to wait for the outcome of an investigation that was ordered by the president, because the president appointed an investigator at that point in the person of Major General Olivas, and I thought then that it would be improper for any one of us to make a statement about the case, at least this was my personal viewpoint. And then, after that the president organized the Fernando Commission and then after that the Agrava Board. I felt that, as far as that particular matter was concerned, I think I should not, in my capacity of minister of defense, make any statement either way because it could be misjudged or misunderstood.

[Daza] How was your personal relationship with Senator Aquino, over whom you exercised some kind of guardianship and a....

[Enrile interrupts] Well, in spite of the fact that Ninoy was detained during the period of martial law and he was under my custody, I think that he also entertained a healthy respect for my judgment and I did entertain a healthy respect for him, although I did not agree with his political views, in the same manner that he did not agree with my own political views, but there was no personal animosity between Ninoy Aquino and I. When he was abroad, he was in Boston, I never had any contact with him, although when I accompanied the president in September of last year during his state visit, I got a call for (Rashid Luchman) through one of my military assistants who was with me informing me that he and Ninoy wanted to see me and I said no, I did not have the time to see them or talk to them. Then, when I want to Washington, D. C., February this year, I got a call from Boston, from Ninoy Aquino and he wanted to talk.... to see me, but then I did not have the time, so was Congressman Solarz, he wanted to see me also, I did not want to see anybody during that trip.

[Daza] You mean that Solarz wanted to talk to you about Senator Aquino?

[Enrile] No, but he wanted to talk to me while I was in Washington, D.C., but I did not accede to the request.

[Daza] How did you feel when the senator did not reply to your telegram, since it was a telegram of an urgent nature?

[Enrile] Well, nothing at all. That was his perogative whether to reply to my telegram or not. The fact is that I sent him the telegram and....

[Daza interrupts] Did it hit you that, you know, something might happen to him, since...

[Enrile] No, I did not know that he was coming, because I was told by (Doy) Laurel that his coming was postponed.

[Daza] Okay, before we go to our viewers' questions, here is some prepared material. We have Miss Virgie Bolear, who is a secretary, and she has a question for Minister Enrile. Miss Bolear.

[Bolear] The president has consistently emphasized that the country's under civilian authority and that was so even during the height of martial rule. However, it has been observed that a military man is becoming the spokesman of the president in major public policies. Which brings us to the remark that the minister for national defense has now minimal powers. What do you have to say about that?

[Enrile] Well, first of all, as far as power is concerned, my powers have not been diminished; it's only that I do not broadcast when I exercised them. Now as far as major policy pronouncements are concerned, I do not know of any major policy pronouncements that have been made by any military officer. In fact, policies are functions of the president and the Ministry of Defense, and all defense policies and military policies are covered and defined in regulations and circulars and directives promulgated and issued by the president and/or by the Ministry of Defense. Now, if military officers make pronouncements on the basis of these regulations, these circulars, and these directives, then that is within their right to do so. They are complying with the regulations.

[Daza] Thank you, Mr Enrile. Here is another person with a question for you: Mr George Argegado, who is a resort manager. Mr Agregado.

[Agregado] Very recently there was a presidential decree No 1866, involving firearms, but if we read the newspapers, almost every day it appears that criminal elements are not afraid of presidential decree No 1866. My question, therefore, is: What step has the minister of national defense or the Armed Forces of the Philippines, what steps have they taken on this matter?

[Enrile] Well, actually this should be a proper question directed to the minister of justice, for this involves law enforcement and prosecution. I think that there is some misunderstanding regarding the role of the Ministry of Defense. As the name of the ministry suggests, we are in charge of the defense of the nation, and not totally police work. Of course, the Integrated National Police is under me and so is the Philippine Constabulary, but when it comes to enforcement of specific laws, this is a police function. Once we have done the arrest, the prosecution is handled by the Ministry of Justice. Whether it is proper to increase the penalty or not is a matter that must be studied and debated and analyzed, and if necessary we can recommend a further increase in the penalty or change the method of licensing or of dealing with people who handle these weapons.

[Daza] But it's General Ramos who alone has the power to sign orders licensing firearms?

[Enrile] Yes, licensing; but when this is to legalize the possession of a firearm. But if you apprehend a person with a firearm without a license, that is a crime. And our only participation is apprehension. The prosecution is handled by the prosecution arm of the government, which is actually under the Ministry of Justice.

[Daza] Do you think our gun control laws are too tight or too loose?

[Enrile] Well, if we follow the... [changes thought] If I understand the position of the gentlemen, he seems to suggest that it's too loose and the penalty is too low. Maybe a more rigid penalty is reasonably high as it is. It's question of really going after the people who have loose firearms.

[Daza] Because it seems that even Manila policemen are being....

[Enrile interrupts] Because, if I remember correctly, I think it's 20 years now, and 20 years in jail is a long time.

[Daza] Because even the Manila policemen are being killed nowadays so that their guns can be taken by some elements, some lawless elements in....

[Enrile interrupts] That's true. But some of these elements who are grabbing the guns are doing it for a different purpose. They are doing it to advance their own brand of revolution, so to speak.

[Daza] Is it ideological?

[Enrile] Yes. In some ways, yes.

[Daza] Next we have a banker who also has a question for Mr Enrile, and he is Philip Soliven. Mr Soliven.

[Soliven] Mr Minister: Would the military be involved in security arrangements for the May 1984 elections? If so, to what extent? My second question is: Considering the economic situation prevailing in the country today, do you perceive for the military to receive an increased share of the national budget in the coming years?

[Enrile] Well, actually the procedure is that during election time, the one in charge of election process is the Commission on Election. And they use the military organization as their deputies in the handling of the election process. In that event the minister of defense cannot even order the soldiers to do any work in connection with the election process if they're deputized by the Commission on Election, other than perhaps to assist in the implementation of the function as deputized by the Commission on Election.

[Daza] Has the Army ever taken sides in policing an election? Has there ever been a complaint....

[Enrile interrupts] Normally, the one that is deputized to do the job during election time is the Philippine Constabulary [PC]. The Philippine Army is never involved in the election....

[Daza interrupts] Does the PC....

[Enrile continues] ... or the Philippine Navy or the Air Force, other than perhaps to transport....

[Daza interrupts] Ballot boxes.

[Enrile] Ballot boxes, and to retrieve them and move them back where they came from if the elections are over.

[Daza] The second part of Mr Soliven's question regards the increased military budget, and we have three....

[Enrile interrupts] Well, the military budget is big in terms of figures but if... [changes thought] What is it, 7 billion [Philippine pesos]. What is 7 billion; 7 billion is about \$500 million. Now, our naval ships are aging. They're World War II vintage. If you buy a corvette-type of ship now — it is about 1,200 tons displacement — that will cost you anywhere between \$150-200 million complete with armaments and equipment. You can see that with \$500 million you can probably buy only 2 and 1/2 ships.

Now, if you want to modernize the Air Force, then each plane will cost you anywhere between \$35-40 million -- a good combat aircraft including armaments in order to protect your skies. Now if you buy a squadron of that, which is 18 aircraft, you can just see the magnitude. That's almost the whole budget.

[Daza] What happens now to all those acquisitions, minister, now that we're at the nadir of our economic crisis? Will you continue purchasing them?

[Enrile] Well, we have an amount coming under the military bases agreement which we intend to use for modernization of our Air Force and our Navy. And this is something that is not being taken out of the tax payments of our people.

[Daza] When do you expect all this equipment?

[Enrile] This is programmed over a period of 5 years.

[Daza] How much worth are they of the \$900 million?

[Enrile] We are going to spend a total of about \$400 million over a period of 5 years.

[Daza] Is this \$400 million going to be taken from the \$900 million rentals?

[Enrile] That's right. That's correct.

[Daza] All right. We will be right back after we take our Nescafe break. [commercial interruption]

[Daza] All right. We were talking about the military budget, Mr Enrile, and we have questions from our viewers along that line. Like Bing of Mekati says: Is it not a fact that our Army is too big? Can you cut the budget of the National Defense Ministry and divert it to the Ministry of Education and Sports?

[Enrile] Well, the defense of a nation is always a costly one. Even America finds it very difficult to meet its defense requirement now. Unless of course we want to be a vassal or a protectorate of another country, I would not suggest that we should cut down on our defense spending. If you cut down on your defense spending, then you must be prepared to take any insults and any mistreatment by other nations around you, because we are not alone in this world. There are other nations with conflicting interests with us that will require us to build our own capability, because in the field of international relations your world is meaningless unless you can back it up with capability or military capability. If you do not have the military capabilities, better for you to shut up and accept that you are probably a fifth-rate power.

[Daza] June Manala says: Do you think there is really any danger of the Philippines being invaded? That's why you are beefing up the Armed Forces?

[Enrile] Well, you do not provide for your defense when you have already an enemy entering your territory. You provide it when there is no visible enemy. That is the time for preparation.

[Daza] Benji Tersare of Makati says: Mr Enrile, if you're in charge of the nation's security, I want to ask you if there are nuclear weapons in Clark Field?

[Enrile] If there are, I'm sure that some of our friends who are not attuned to the ideology of the United States would have told us already and complained about it. I doubt whether there are such things in Clark and Subic.

[Daza] But do you think that the Philippines could be a target for a nuclear attack from Russia?

[Enrile] Personally, I don't think so because what would be these two bases — Clark and Subic — are military facilities intended as parts of a conventional warfare. [sentence as heard] And in case of a nuclear war, when there is... when the Soviet Union and the United States will be hitting each other and destroying their cities there would not be enough time to hit a small target like that. For what? Maybe the communication at that point would be so disrupted that they cannot even communicate with Subic or Clark, and vice versa.

[Daza] We were talking earlier about the elections, Minister Enrile, and somebody says: What guarantee can you give the people that the military will not be used in the coming elections to make the administration's candidates win? That's from Harry Jiopano.

[Enrile] Well, we have always seen to it in the past that the military organization will be nonpolitical. There are some individuals who sometimes get involved in politics, but that is probably true in any large organization such as the military organization. But by and large the great majority of the people in the military organization would like their organization to be apolitical. And I'm sure that in the next election the military organization would be as much interested in a clean, orderly, and fair election as anyone else.

[Daza] Are you going to run? Do you have to run in May as an assemblyman?

[Enrile] Ah, yes. I will run in my own province.

[Daza] But you don't have to, no?

[Enrile] But I would like to.

[Daza] But you would like to.

[Enrile] I have to.

[Daza] Why?

[Enrile] In fact I am an elected member of parliament. Yes.

[Daza] From the last election.

[Enrile] And I think the president expects that we have to run; I have to run.

[Daza] Are you preparing for your vice presidency by any chance?

[Enrile] Why? Is it open now?

[Daza, laughing] You never can tell.

[Enrile] I didn't know that it's open for grabs.

[Daza, Laughing] No, but in that KBL [Kilusang Bagong Lipunan] Caucus how did you vote?

[Enrile] I was in favor for the restoration of the vice presidency.

[Daza] By election, with the president.

[Enrile] Yes, by election, with the president. In the meantime, in the interim I opted to give the role of successor in the event of a vacancy in the presidency between now and 1987 for the speaker.

[Daza] You are for the speaker. Why not be prime minister like the president wanted?

[Enrile] Well, the prime minister is a member of the Cabinet. He is under the control of the president, he is nominated by the president, with the nomination of a successor, unlike the speaker. The speaker is removable only by the members of the House.

[Daza] Attorney Castro of San Pablo says: What can you say about the abuses of the military in Cagayan, your own home town?

[Enrile] Well, they are punished when they commit abuses.

[Daza, raising question cards] You know that the Aquino assassination is occupying a lot the space here in our cards.

[Enrile] Well, I imagine so. They want to know about it.

[Daza] Yes. I remember that General Ver came out with a statement some time ago that the military was conducting its own investigation apart from the commission. At that time it was the Fernando Commission. He said that the military would have its own investigation. Have they come up....

[Enrile interrupts] Yeah, I remember he said that. I do not know whether there was such an investigation. But I imagine that even if there was such an investigation, it's better that we should allow the Agrava Commission, our board, to finish its work until any other investigation be conducted. Maybe what should be done is we wait for the result of the Agrava investigation and from there we take action if there is any action to be taken against anyone in the military organization.

[Daza] Mrs Andrea Ramos would like to know what action have you taken against the escorts of Aquino after the incident? Because there was a breach of security.

[Enrile] Well, frankly I felt that it was not proper to act at this point because there's an ongoing investigation and whatever results will come up in an investigation that we will undertake would be suspect either way, you see.

[Daza] You don't think that the facts ....

[Enrile interrupts] We would have done it if there was no Agrava Commission. In fact we were in the process of doing that, but then it was overtaken by the fact that the president created the Fernando Commission and later on the Agrava Commission.

[Daza] But from the military point of view, don't you think that there was very patently a breach of security?

[Enrile] I would rather not make any comment on that because that will be prejudging whatever findings the Agrava Commission would make.

[Daza] Mr Feliciano Magdoto of Quezon City says: You used to be seen at the Manila Pen [Peninsula Hotel] Lobby. I saw you there two times.

[Enrile] That's true, that's true. I like to go there and have coffee.

[Daza] No commercials please. After the August 21 incident you were never seen there again. Is this true?

[Enrile] Oh, then this fellow must not be in the Pen.

[Daza] You have been going back?

[Enrile] I am always in the lobby of the Pen, every now and then. I think I've been there; only about two nights ago I was there.

[Daza] You've not ever been the object of a demonstration at the Pen?

[Enrile] No. I have not seen any demonstrators there.

[Daza, laughing] Not against you. Mr Ramon Fransi of (?UE) says: What do you think? Should the different sectors of society continue with their rallies and demonstrations?

[Enrile] It is not what I think that matters; it is what they want to do. After all it is a guaranteed right for our citizens to exercise the right to assembly and petition for redress of grievances, provided it is done peacefully.

[Daza] Just to see what kind of a mind you have. Mr Enrile, let's imagine or let's pretend that you have children and they want to attend one of those rallies. Would you allow them to?

[Enrile] Well, my children are of age. They are entitled to make their own decisions. I never control their decisions.

[Daza] So, theoretically you would let them.

[Enrile] It's up to them to make their own decisions. And my daughter studies in the University of the Philippines [UP].

[Daza] Why are things so quiet in the UP now?

[Enrile] I don't know. I think we better ask the people in the University of the Philippines.

[Daza] The same question. The same Mr Magdoto says: What do you have to say about the car-napping scandal involving General (Dumpit)?

[Enrile] Well, this is under investigation, and General Ramos will have to make a finding and report the findings to the president.

[Daza] There were some reports that.....

[Enrile interrupts] I think allegation is one thing, proof is another. If there's any proof against any venalities being committed by any officer in the Armed Forces, then, as ordered by the president, he must be exposed and proper measures of discipline must be enforced upon him.

[Daza] Now, the suspension of Gen (Dumpit). It has been 2 months since the president ordered the suspension. How long...

[Enrile interrupts] He was not suspended; I think he was relieved of his command so that the investigation will proceed.

[Daza] So it has not started yet? The investigation?

[Enrile] No. It's proceeding, it's going on.

[Daza] How long do you think it would take before...

[Enrile interrupted] I don't know. That is assigned by the president for General Ramos.

[Daza] Could you comment on some newspaper reports that Colonel Santiago, the man who was supposed to be at odds with Gen (Dumpit), is back at his post at the (?BOP)?

[Enrile] I don't think so, I don't know that he is there. Maybe you should make a call to [words indistinct], that's under the Ministry of Transportation and Communications.

[Daza] All right. Well, we will back with your questions for Minister Enrile after this message. [commercial interruption]

We're back with our questions. And, Minister Enrile, Before we go to all these other questions because we have to jump from one subject to another...

[Enrile interrupts] You can ask the questions, Julie, and I will answer them and rattle the answers as fast as I can.

[Daza] Very good. Now, I would like to know what you think about revolution.

[Enrile] Revolution. Theoretically or factually?

[Daza] Theoretically as it might apply to our conditions.

[Enrile] I think we should not speculate about revolution. That's too serious a matter to speculate on.

[Daza] No, I mean do you think...

[Enrile interrupts] You know, I don't think we'll have a revolution in the Philippines. We have an ongoing revolution right now, a rebellion, a rebellion in the Philippines. The case of the MNLF [Moro National Liberation Front] and the case of the CPP-NPA [Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army], but whether that will result in a revolution, I doubt it in the forseeable future anyway.

[Daza] What's the difference between a revolution and a rebellion?

[Enrile] A revolution is a total overturn of a society.

[Daza] And a rebellion?

[Enrile] Where you have to change the whole concept of your social, political, and economic life. A rebellion is an outburst of violence.

[Daza] Uh-huh. You don't think that the violence....

[Enrile interrupts] Which may -- may -- lead to a revolution.

[Daza] You think that the rebellion in the south has been contained?

[Enrile] Yes, but there is a sign that it's starting to become active again. I understand that a new group that has now managed to challenge the position of Misuari is coming up and this is an active group. This group is being led by a fellow named Dimas Pundato, and this is separate from the group of (Hasim Salamat). But this group, it seems that they are getting stronger support from the people in the field.

[Daza] What do you know about this person?

[Enrile] This is the intelligence report coming into my office.

[Daza] Is he younger than Misuari?

[Enrile] I think he's younger than Misuari and more acceptable than ... by the people in the, by the commanders in the field. This is my information.

[Daza] Just a few days ago. Nur Misuari was quoted in Dhaka, saying that the NPA and the MNLF are not coordinating, contrary to....

[Enrile interrupts] Well, maybe because he knows that from his past experience, that his identification with the Marxist movement in the Philippines is hurting his cause. That's why some of his men who used to support him are now breaking off from him and that is why, as I said, there's a new group looming to take over a great chunk of the Moro National Liberation Front group in Mindanao.

[Daza] Is this more radical than the Misuari faction?

[Enrile] We do not know yet, we do not know. We have not assessed the politics of this new man that looms as a leader.

[Daza] You would say that the threat from the MNLF is not as grave as the threat from the NPA?

[Enrile] No longer as grave as it used to be sometime in 1970 to '74-'75, but that's why we are watching this development.

[Daza] Here, speaking of revolution, Lauro Ferrer, who is a trading firm officer, has a comment and a question for Minister Enrile. Mr Ferrer.

[Ferrer] Minister, I've read the book authored by the president, entitled "An Ideology for Filipinos," which speaks in Chapter 3 thereof: revolution from the center. If you read this book, which I assume you have, would you please explain to us the meaning of revolution from the center.

[Enrile] Well, if I will explain to you this thing it will take us maybe a lot more time, but as the book suggests, it is a revolution initiated from the center. If you study the spectrum of political ideals and political thoughts, in a society you have an extreme, very extreme left and a very extreme right; and as you move these groupings into the center you come into what is an acceptable centrist position. You can not have a definite point in the center where you divide the left and the right. You have a group left of center and a group right of center and these compose your centrist group, which probably would want to evolve policies that will overturn the extremely leftist position and the extremely rightist position and evolve a new kind of life, both political, economic, and social for the Filipino people. And this is, in a nutshell, what the president is trying to suggest in his book.

[Daza] Whatever happened to the cardinal's pleas for a national reconciliation council? Were you ever involved in the reconciliation talks between the military and the church?

[Enrile] Yes, when we had the Church-Military Liaison Committee, but we had dismantled that and there was no mechanism that supplanted it.

[Daza] Did you ever make a follow-up?

[Enrile] No more, because I thought that that would be done on the level of the prime minister.

[Daza] Did you read this report about 108 detainees being salvaged and so many of them disappearing in 6 months last year? And the lawyers were even bringing up their case to the ministry for....

[Enrile interrupts] Well, there were some that were brought to us, some coming from the (Bical) region, and when we studied this we asked them to come up with evidence to help us ferret out the truth about this, but some of the lawyers failed to substantiate their claim. Now, there was also another case in Bulacan, the same thing: They did not come up with the evidence, and if they will bring out the specific cases to us -- the time, the place, the identities of persons involved -- then maybe we can proceed and investigate these cases, but a general statement like this, I'm not in a position to answer you in a more effective manner than what I'm doing now.

[Daza] When was the last time Amnesty International sent anybody to see you?

[Enrile] Oh, that was several years back.

[Daza] Several years back. So they have not really been in touch?

[Enrile] No.

[Daza] Maybe they're just holding talks with the task force Detainees Philippines.

[Enrile] I do not know. I have not seen any member of the organization in recent years.

[Daza] Rena Reyes of Quezon City sys: When one becomes a victim of harrassment from someone who claims to be a member of the military, how and where do we make the verification that he is really a member of the military?

[Enrile] Well, he can come to the ministry. We have an organization that handles this and we have what we call Accent. This is the organization that deals with the public on matters like this.

[Daza] Umm. Rena says: Is there an office or number that we can call after office hours and during Sundays and holidays?

[Enrile] Oh yes, we have always people in the office, minding this office.

[Daza] Is it listed in the phone book, this Accent?

[Enrile] Yes, they will publish the telephone number. I will ask my staff to take note of this.

[Daza] And Rena says: How can we get in touch with Minister Enrile directly?

[Enrile] Oh. If she wants, she can come to the ministry any time of the day. I will be there. [smiles] Or if she wants to see me at the lobby of the Peninsula, I will be there too. [laughs]

[Daza] You will buy her her drinks, huh? [laughs] Mr Renaldo Razo of Zamboanga says: Is it true that the Philippines has more generals than the U.S. Army?

[Enrile] Well, I think that is an exaggeration, that question is a little bit of an exaggeration. [passage indistinct]

[Daza] ...enemies of the present regime. Are municipal mayors empowered to stop small rally organizers for Ninoy?

[Enrile] That's a lot of questions he's asking, but, in a nutshell, the premise is wrong, because the Armed Forces of the Philippines contracted with (Elitol) for (Elitol) to manufacture some 155,000 or 150,000 pieces of assault rifle known as M-16's for delivery to the Armed Forces of the Philippines and this was done. Some of these firearms are sometimes issued to members of the integrated National Police.

[Daza] All over the Philippines?

[Enrile] Whenever there is a need for it.

[Daza] And he says: Are municipal mayors empowered to stop rallies for Ninoy, and are they allowed to castigate?

[Enrile] Well, municipal mayors are empowered to stop rallies in general if the people rallying do not have a permit from the municipality. See, there are certain rules and regulations that must be complied with by people who will exercise their rights, because the ralliers will use the thoroughfares of the community and they're not the only people in that community. There are other people who are equally entitled to use those thoroughfares, and in order that there be an orderly manner by which these facilities would be used by the people in the community, that's why you need the permit of the authority in the community so that they can tell you when and how you will exercise your rights. Now, if you do not comply with the orders or with the regulations, then they can stop you.

[Daza] Because Mr Bituen says that that is what is happened in Tarlac; it seems that the rally organizers are being castigated.

[Enrile] Well Mr Bituen should be really a star, he must perform his being a star by complying with the regulations.

[Daza] From Ray Florete: On the day Aquino was assassinated you went to Malacanang in the afternoon. Is that correct? Did you go to Malacanang on the day that Aquino was assassinated?

[Enrile] No, that's not true.

[Daza] So, I won't read the rest of the sentence. Raymond Lopez says: What is the status of Mrs Aurora Aquino's complaint against a certain major in Conception, Tarlac?

[Enrile] Well, the matter is, I directed the chief of staff to investigate the matter, he being the highest military officer, and I have not received the result of the investigation. I think he, they, must have sent the inspector general to conduct an inquiry.

[Daza] I read his denial in the papers.

[Enrile] Well, that is his position. Well, that will be embodied in report of inspector general.

[Daza] In the light of the economic crisis, here's a question from somebody who didn't give his name: Are you still going to push through the purchase of the 16 Sikorsky helicopters that were the subject of a Batasang inquiry? They have been purchased, no?

[Enrile] They have been purchased, in fact some of them are being delivered already and we have already bought the armaments for this. And then, we need these aircraft. By the way, the money that we are using to buy these do not come from the taxes collected from our people, they're coming from the compensation for the military bases.

[Daza] How much did the helicopters cost?

[Enrile] Sixty million dollars.

[Daza] Sixty million, in all?

[Enrile] Yes, \$60 million; that's about -- how many -- about 40 million pesos.

[Daza] Right.

[Enrile] So you see, our budget's very big.

[Daza] Don't you think that 16 helicopters is too many?

[Enrile] Sixteen helicopters is too many?

[Daza] Plus the 800 million? At this time?

[Enrile] Well, we bought the cheapest type of helicopter that we need. You know, if you get the bigger ones, each one of them will cost about almost \$7 million.

[Daza] What do you use these helicopters for?

[Enrile] For transports and for...

[Daza interrupts] Troop movements?

[Enrile] Yes. Transport, troop movement, and evacuation of sick people for civic action and also for counterinsurgency.

[Daza] Are they being used mostly in the NPA-infected areas, or in the MNLF-dominated areas?

[Enrile] Wherever we need them.

[Daza] Grace Martinque says: There was an attempt to arrest J. B. Bautista, a former secretary general of league of Filipino Students, on the strength of a PDA [Presidential detention action]. This seems to be inconsistent with your policy of maximum tolerance. Is there such a thing as an exceptional case where this policy should not apply?

[Enrile] I do not know what prompted the police to request for a PDA against J. B. Bautista, but I have requested the Metrocom [Metropolitan Command] to hold the implementation until I can take this matter up with the president.

[Daza] Ah, so it's held in abeyance for the meantime. Mr Patrick Domingo, another question about students: Why is it that student leaders in the university belt are being searched? Is that true?

o not know when was that search. Now, if they can tell me the specific no I can inquire.

Thank you, Minister Enrile. We'll be back with more of your questions words. [commercial interruption]

arile, I have my own list of questions which I cannot finish because there ay questions from my viewers.

We can stay here until tomorrow if you want. [laughs]

. We might melt under these lights. Sonia Reyes says: Is the AVSECOM [Aviation rity Command] under your ministry? If so, did you approve of the security plan

Earile interrupts] Of course, it's a part of the Armed Forces. It's under my ministy, ut operationally it is directly under the functional jurisdiction of the chief of taff. Now the next question is, did I approve the security plan.

Daza| Security plan for Ninoy's arrival?

Enrile) You know, security, the security for VIP's or persons is not a function of the Ministry of National Defense. We do not participate in that. And even if the President of the United States or the maharajah of India or the king of Nepal or the king of England will come here, we've nothing to do with security. We do not be participate in the security of the president, except perhaps when it involves oreign elements.

Daza] Umm, but did you say a few days before Ninoy was supposed to arrive that if e set foot here, you would have him arrested right away and taken to his cell.

Enrile] I did not say that I will have him arrested. I said that we will provide im with adequate security. And I assumed that the procedure that has been laid out in the security of VIP's like him was followed. And I think it was followed, but omehow there was a mess-up.

Daza] What did you feel when you heard the news that someone had penetrated the ecurity cordon around him?

Enrile] Well, of course, as a human being and a Filipino, I was shocked that a thing ike that happened in the Manila International Airport.

Daza Antonio Carlos says: According to the parliamentary system, when there is ailure in things under your obligation, it is a rule that the minister has to resign. s this correct? When there is a failure in your obligations?

Enrile] I don't know that that's a rule in a parliamentary system. I thought that he rule is that the government should decide.

Daza| Uh-huh. He says, because what he's really leading up to is: Why don't you esign? Why didn't you resign when there was a security breach at the airport?

Enrile] Well, with due respect to Senator Aquino, he may be that important as a ersonage in our country, but the mere fact that there was such an incident does not uggest that the minister of defense or the Cabinet should take responsibility for hat happened. If there is any responsibility, then let it be pinpointed by the Agrava bard and then proper measures will then be adopted to pinpoint that responsibility and to mete out the necessary disciplinary action, if there is need for it.

[Daza] Mr Marin Blanco says: Is (Rosando Kowigan) an intelligence agent of the government -- this (Kowigan) who said he was also at the airport....

[Enrile interrupts] I'm not in a position to say yes or no because I'm not a project officer for intelligence activities. I receive intelligence reports, I'm not an intelligence operator.

[Daza] Mr Patrick Domingo says: Do you personally believe that the military had nothing to do with Aquino's killing?

[Enrile] I would not comment on that, because that is precisely the purpose of the Agrava board inquiry.

[Daza] To another subject. Mr Paul Gonzalez of Project Four says: How true is the rumor that you and your group have already bought out a leading multinational paint company and a drug store chain?

[Enrile] I do not have any paint company. No, if he is talking of Commander Drug, well people who are close to me bought it; now if he wants it he can have it, because it's a losing proposition.

[Daza laughing] How did you know that that was the chain he had in mind?

[Enrile] Well, that's Commander Drug.

[Daza] Mercury?

[Enrile] Commander Drug.

[Daza] Not Mercury?.

[Enrile] Not Mercury.

[Daza] Well, before I shift through all these questions, I'd like to ask Minister Enrile: Minister Corpuz said that he was resigning because of frustration at being unable to penetrate the cordon sanitaire around the president. In your many years of serving on the Cabinet did you ever feel this frustration?

[Enrile] No. You know, each one of us, as members of the Cabinet can always see the president. If we want to see him, we can make appointments, if we really want to see him. I've never felt that there was any cordon sanitaire around the president. When I want to bring home to him a problem I can pick up the phone, dial the Malacanang, talk to the president directly, and I assume that that is also an available facility to every member, other members of the Cabinet.

[Daza] Minister Enrile, I wonder if you saw this movie of Charles Bronson, "Ten to Midnight?"

[Enrile] No. I seldom watch movies. I read books, but not movies.

[Daza] The reason I ask is it's about a very current and, I think, pertinent thing called salvaging. You know, he's a policeman, he's a detective, and there's this rapist who almost rapes and kills his daughter after killing so many beautiful young women in his state of nakedness. Now, he has finally cornered this rapist and killer and after the policemen catch him he puts a bullet between and kills him dead on the spot. I know that many policemen go through danger every day, they face danger every day and some of them have told me in private that, you know, it's better to kill somebody then to have him tried and put in jail for a few months and then come out again

and then do the same thing all over again. And in the meantime they are wasting the government's funds -- you know, a place to stay, a place to sleep, and food to eat -- so they were trying to justify salvaging. What is your personal thinking about this?

[Enrile] Well, we are governed by rules we call the law. And as a lawyer and as an administrator of a sensitive ministry like the Ministry of Defense, I would not suggest that we should take the law into our own hands, because the determination of the guilt or the innocence of a person is a function of the judicial process, not a function of the police.

[Daza] How true. Here, from Ricky Reyes of Mandaluyon: If a leader must lead his flock not only through legal authority but also through a moral good -- moral good, if it's good it must be moral, no, a higher good, maybe, what qualities must be possess in order to ensure his success? You're a leader, Mr Enrile.

[Enrile] What qualities of leader must be possess?

[Daza] To lead his flock not only to what is right but what is good?

[Enrile] Then he must be a leader.

[Daza] Yes. What are the traits of a leader?

[Enrile] He must be a leader. All the traits that make up a leader.

[Daza] What are those?

[Enrile] He must be a leader who earns the respect and the faith of his flock.

[Daza] You have not had... you've not suffered any Cabinet fatigue, the kind that Minister Ople was speaking about he said that indeed there should be a Cabinet revamp?

[Enrile] Well, I leave that to the president when the election of 1984 is over.

[Daza] But if you win that means you have to go through another long grind.

[Enrile] That's if I win?

[Daza] I think you will win. We have just a few minutes left and I think we should leave this last few minutes for Minister Enrile in case you want to make a wrap-up.

[Enrile] Thank you, Julie, for this very interesting dialogue. The questions, I must say, are very penetrating and I would like to thank the people who went out of their way to ask those questions because, indeed, these are necessary so that we can have at least a feeling of what the people are thinking.

[Daza] Yes, that's right. One last question, minister. What do you think about the decrees which the IDP has called repressive, regarding human rights and arrests, et cetera.

[Enrile] That is a debatable issue, depending upon which side of the fence you are, but of course I'm concerned. As I said in Mololos the other day when I was asked the same question, there is room for considering and examination of this problem.

[Daza] You were not part of the group that prepared those decrees?

[Enrile] No. This was prepared by, I think, by some other people. It did not emanate from our ministry.

[Daza] Okay, thank you very much Minister Enrile and I'd like to thank our viewers for calling in their questions.

# COMMITTEE FORMED TO REVIEW PROBLEMS OF BASES DEAL

OW201643 Quezon City RPN Television Network in English 1100 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] The Philippines and the United States have affirmed the establishment of a joint committee to review problems arising from the RP-U.S. bases agreement and Philip Tan has these details:

[Begin Tan recording] Philippine Ambassador to the United States Benjamin Romualdez and his counterpart, Ambassador Michael Armacost, jointly affirmed the creation of the committee at the Philippine Navy Headquarters on Roxas Boulevard, site of the committee's offices. The two ambassadors are cochairmen of the joint committee. Aside from the joint committee, a joint implementation committee cochaired by Rear Admiral Simeon Alejandro and Subic Base Commander Rear Admiral Dickinson Smith will serve as a (?workhorse) in the resolutions of problems arising from the obligation of both sides in the bases agreement.

This morning's ceremony also brought into operation the committee on economic development. Under the agreement, the committee will serve as forum for discussion of issues relating to economic support fund as stipulated in the military bases agreement. [end recording]

# MARCOS URGES UNITY; LASHES OUT AT CRITICS

OW201645 Quezon City RPN Television Network in English 1100 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] The president has lashed out at his critics for trying to, as he put it, create trouble in the country and destroying the Filipino image abroad. The president bared his displeasure in a speech before Cabatan Barangay members who attended the (Baranal Sabagum Yapunen) at the mansion house in Banguio City this morning. And Joel Barotilla was there.

[Begin recording] [Barotilla] The president told the youth that the only way to counteract these critics who are out to destroy the country is for the whole nation to unite. He said there is nothing to be gained by being divided. The president also expressed confidence that the people as the will overcome the present crisis the nation is facing today. The youth, he said, must not doubt their elders to cast aside the hate and anger that is destroying the image of the country before the eyes of the world.

[Marcos] Ideology, we call it, ideology, that is only a high-sounding means for: What don't you want of your society, what do you want to change in your society, and what are you doing about it?

[Barotilla] The Cabatan Barangay left the loyalty and support to the president, the resolutions to be set up by the heads of the regional Cabatan Barangay organizations. The president, together with the first lady and other government officials, were also cited for their sincere support toward the realization of the aspirations of the Filipino youth. The president, on the other hand, presented awards to outstanding Cabatan Barangay members and units. [end recording]

# FUNDING OF VOTER REGISTRATION D'SCUSSED

OW201637 Quezon City RPN Television Network in English 1100 GMT 17 Dec 83

[Text] The president and the KBL [Kilusang Bagong Lipunan] today decided to take the initiative in bringing about a new registration of voters throughout the country and in such places as may be agreed upon in consultation with other political parties.

The move was taken during a 2-hour meeting late this afternoon in Malacanang by the president and a 3-man Batasang committee led by Deputy Prime Minister Jose Rono. The president's reaction was due to the ambiguity of the statement issued by local business leaders led by banker (Victor Barios) regarding a new registration and the banker's offer of 100 million pesos to fund the registration effort. More on the business sector's offer with (Thelma Renda):

[Begin (Renda) recording] The business sector has not offered an outright cash donation of 100 million pesos to finance a new registration of voters. This clarification comes from (Victor Barios), president of the ninth Philippine Businessmans Conference and president of (Peace) Bank. According to (Barios), the offer is for the whole community to contribute different elements of resources such as manpower, materials, machines, and money.

The 100 million pesos is the initial estimate of the business sector on the amount needed to put up a new voters list. While there is general agreement on the new voters list, details of approach and methods to implement the offer have generated miscommunication and misunderstanding. However, (Barios) has confirmed the community's strong commitment to assist the government in the process of a new voters' registration. [end recording]

## Plebescite Set for 27 Jan

0W201639 Quezon City RPN Television Network in English 1100 GMT 19 Dec 83

[Text] The Batasang this afternoon adjourned for the holidays after passing on third and final reading the bill setting the plebiscite on charter changes for January 27th. The Batasang will resume its last session on January 30.

# LOAN RESCHEDULING COULD REACH \$9 BILLION

HK200143 Manila BUSINESS DAY in English 19 Dec 83 p 2

[Report by Reporter Rigoberto D. Tiglao: "Virata Confirms: Rescheduling May Involve 59B"]

The total amount of loans the country will need to reschedule may reach \$9 billion, Prime Minister Cesar virata told BUSINESS DAY last week. He did not say if the advisory committee composed of 12 foreign banks that are helping to arrange the rescheduling, has agreed to the amount.

At \$9 billion, the amount is the fifth biggest to be requested by a country suffering a debt crisis. The Philippines is the 36th country to need a rescheduling of debts over the past two years. Data culled by BUSINESS DAY show Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela either plan to reschedule or have rescheduled debts amounts to \$397 billion, \$17.9 billion, \$11.5 billion, and \$18.4 billion, respectively. (The amount Venezuela wants to reschedule, \$18.4 billion, is only an estimate made by international banking institutions. The Venezuelan Government has not announced the official figure.

The magnitude of the Philippine debt-crisis is also reflected in the \$3.3 billion Virata has announced as the amount of new loans the government is seeking to fill a financing deficit in 1984. This requirement for new money would be the third biggest to be extended to any country in a debt crisis. Mexico's requirement for new money amounted to \$5 billion, Brazil \$4.4 billion and Argentina \$1.5 billion.

The amount the Philippines wants to reschedule is also bigger than those of Chile (\$4.7 billion), Poland (\$2.1 billion), and Yugoslavia (3.4 billion).

Period: Virata did not give details on the composition of the \$9 billion saying only that it would cover principal payments falling due up to the middle of 1985.

BUSINESS DAY learned that the government's initial request was for a rescheduling of principal payments on medium— and long-term loans falling due from 1984 to 1986 and for conversion of short-term debts falling due in 1984 into medium—term loans. The change in the request apparently was made after recent negotiations with the 12—bank advisory committee. Virata Friday indicated that the rescheduling would include a portion of trade-related short-term obligations.

The government at first proposed not to reschedule trade-related obligations because of a risk that international banks would further suspend financing of the country's imports. Virata said negotiations with the Paris Club, a forum for foreign governments considering and standardizing rescheduling requests for their loans to countries, involve the Philippines' request to restructure foreign governments' export credits. Data made available to BUSINESS DAY (See Dec. 8 issue) indicate that principal payments falling due from 1984 to 1986 on medium- and long-term loans amount to \$3,785.5 million. If the country will reschedule only payments due from 1984 to mid-1985, as Virata said, then roughly \$1,678.75 million of payments will be rescheduled. This would mean that the \$9 billion to be rescheduled will consist mostly of short-term obligations, including trade-related debts.

According to Central Bank [CB] Governor Jaime C. Laya's report to the Monetary Board over the weekend, \$9.9 billion or 40 percent of the country's external debt are short-term in nature, maturing in 1984. These consist of trade-related obligations of \$4,351.6 million and nontrade obligations of \$5,522.45 million. Out of the \$5,522.45 million in nontrade-related short-term debts, however, at least \$1,424.65 million cannot be rescheduled because this consists of foreign exchange deposits in commercial banks' foreign currency deposit units (under CB circulars No. 343 and No. 547). What the government may get from the country's bank-creditors are reschedu'ings of foreign banks' deposits with the Central Bank amounting to \$394.18 million, commercial banks short-term borrowings of \$2,424.22 billion; and other types of short-term nontrade obligations of \$1,279.4 million. These altogether amount to \$4,097.8 million.

According to Laya's report, the country's total short-term trade-related debt amounts to \$4,351.6 million, consisting of export financing of \$36.23 million, oil financing of \$1,686.13 million, confirmed letters of credit (L/CS) worth \$311.93 million, and other types of short-term trade-related loans of \$2,317.31 million.

Liabilities: Highlights of Laya's report, dated Dec. 17, on the country's foreign exchange liabilities as of Oct. 17 (when the moratorium took effect) follow:

- -- Total outstanding foreign debt was \$24.6 billion, of which \$15.8 billion or 64.3 percent was owed by the nonmometary sector; \$11.1 billion was in credits of the public sector and \$4.7 billion of the private sector.
- -- Liabilities of the monetary sector (the CB and the commercial banks) amounted to \$8.6 billion or 34.9 percent of the total outstanding -- \$4.9 billion by the commercial banks and \$3.7 billion by the CB. Advances by foreign importers to local exporters, much of them to National Sugar Trading Corp. (Nasutra), amounted to \$200 million.
- -- Excluded in the total external debt of \$24.6 billion were contingent and other liabilities of about \$1.6 billion, consisting mainly of \$895 million in guarantees and foreign bank standby L/CS extended mostly to Filipino construction projects overseas; \$350 million in unconfirmed regular L/CS, and \$420 million in leverage lease mainly by Philippine Airlines:
- -- The bulk of the fixed-term loan of \$14.7 billion consisted of loans from the International Monetary Fund to the nonmometary sector amounting to \$1.2 billion, CB borrowings of \$2.2 billion, \$7.9 billion aggregate borrowings of government institutions and agencies including government-owned or controlled corporations, and \$2.9 billion combined payables of private enterprises.

# END OF FICHE DATE FILMED

DEC 22, 1983

